

THE *DIDACHE* IN CONTEXT

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

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THE *DIDACHE* IN CONTEXT

Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission

EDITED BY

CLAYTON N. JEFFORD



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INTRODUCTION

Though the text of the *Didache* was only “rediscovered” and made available for scholarly study a little over a century ago (1873 and 1883 respectively), the casual observer is immediately struck by the extensive amount of research time and literary production which has been expended upon this short, early Christian writing. And yet after all of this time and effort, we still are tempted to observe that the *riddle* (so F.E. Vokes some years ago) or the *enigma* (so Stanislas Giet more recently) of the *Didache* persists. Numerous theories have arisen in an attempt to date the original compilation of the text and its later recensions, to identify the author(s)/editor(s) of the writing and the audience for whom the document was written, to trace the often unique and intriguing liturgical traditions which have been preserved in these materials, and to identify the sources, theological perspective(s), ecclesiology, and intended function which lie behind the text.

As the student of ecclesiastical history visits and revisits the last century of scholarly attempts to resolve these and other questions, it becomes clear that, while there is no uniform consensus either in the way in which these questions should be answered or even in the appropriate critical methods which should be applied to the *Didache*, a distinctive tapestry of insights into the text may be beginning to assert itself in a subtle manner. New critical tools have arisen in recent years, new manuscript considerations have become available, and a fresh spirit of academic cooperation within patristic study has produced a favorable climate in which to reinvestigate the vagaries of the text. Furthermore, there is now perhaps enough of a tacit consensus within scholarship to collect the threads of the tapestry of the *Didache* into a single frame of reference out of which, it is hoped, other interested researchers will attempt to build and contribute additional pieces to the picture which slowly emerges.

The present volume is an attempt to provide just such a frame of reference for the academic study of the *Didache* and its role within early Christianity. The idea for this volume arose in November 1992 during discussions at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature which met in San Francisco. Under the auspices of the publishing house of E.J. Brill in Leiden, the task of writing and editing this collection of original essays has been undertaken with the

assistance of numerous scholars from six different countries in North America, Europe, and Africa. The contributors to this work represent an eclectic assortment of backgrounds and perspectives, and offer the views of Catholics and Protestants, ordained ministers and laity, senior scholars and junior researchers, biblical authorities and church historians, rhetoricians, liturgists, text critics, specialists in sayings traditions, monastic authorities, etc. Individual essays within the volume often make reference to other essays which appear on related topics, thereby to offer the reader a sense of dialogue among the contributors with respect to certain specific and selected issues, as well as to present divergent considerations about current questions which relate to the text and background of the *Didache*.

The volume is divided into two primary sections. The first section (I. Text) contains essays which focus primarily upon the question of the actual text of the *Didache* in whatever facet may have caught the interest of the volume contributor. The second section (II. History and Transmission) contains essays which focus primarily upon the issues of authorship, date, audience, textual transmission, etc. which typically are asked of any early Christian text. This twofold division is not intended to be mutually exclusive in its interests, nor should it be regarded as a clear separation between the classical categories of so-called *lower criticism* and *higher criticism*. Instead, this division is designed as a convenient means by which to direct the user of this volume toward essays which might be useful as research tools in the study of the *Didache* itself, that is, useful to the extent that the essay in question may address the interests and issues of the individual reader.

It perhaps is helpful to offer here a simple and general outline of materials which are the focus of each of the individual essays:

1) In the first section (I. Text) the following studies are offered: a) a clear and reliable translation of the text of the *Didache* in English which may be quickly consulted as the reader uses this volume [A. Cody]; b) a solid reconstruction of the Greek version of the *Didache*, with an emphasis upon the sources which ultimately may lie behind the text and in light of the conclusions of the author's recent commentary [K. Niederwimmer]; c) a useful comparison of the Greek version of the *Didache* which has been offered recently by Klaus Wengst in contrast to the more traditional version which was offered previously by Karl Bihlmeyer [B. Dehandschutter]; d) a fresh review and reconsideration of the enigmatic Coptic version of the *Didache*, with

a much improved transcription and English translation of the text [F.S. Jones and P.A. Mirecki]; e) a careful investigation into the Two Ways motif which lies behind the materials of *Didache* 1–5, together with a suggested schema for the development of the tradition [J.S. Kloppenborg]; f) an intriguing solution to the phrase “in the Gospel” which appears in the *Didache*, together with a suggested schema for the background of the text to which the phrase makes reference [A. Tuilier]; g) a helpful analysis of the role of the *Didache* in the development of the later, Western concept of purgatory [A. Milavec]; h) a cogent analysis of the role and function of the idea of “curse/accursed” in *Didache* 16 which continues to intrigue modern students of the text [N. Pardee]; i) an enlightening and challenging consideration of the category of style as an improvement over traditional source-, form-, and redaction-critical approaches to the text of the *Didache* [I.H. Henderson].

2) In the second section (II. History and Transmission) the following studies are offered: a) some new claims for the role of Jewish thought and tradition within the mindset of the Didachist and the community of the *Didache* [J. Reed]; b) a careful analysis of the baptism tradition which is contained within the liturgical materials of *Didache* 7 [N. Mitchell]; c) a useful and insightful investigation into the role of food and table-sharing in the *Didache* as an ecclesiastical function within early Christianity [J.W. Riggs]; d) a new approach and application of sociological analysis to the rise and development of ecclesiastical offices within the text [J.A. Draper]; e) a renewed investigation into the role of wandering prophets and their importance in early Christianity as they were encountered by the Didachist [S.J. Patterson]; f) a unique consideration of the potential, common background between the *Didache* and the bishop Ignatius of Antioch, together with a suggested schema for the development of the common traditions [C.N. Jefford]; g) a solid review of the transmission of the Two Ways of the *Didache* in Egyptian monastic thought, together with an English translation of Émile Amélineau’s difficult-to-obtain version of the Arabic Two Ways section of the *Life of Shenoute* [C. Davis]; h) a fresh bibliography of secondary sources which reflects some important older studies and the majority of recent investigations into the text and history of the *Didache* [K.J. Harder and C.N. Jefford].

Numerous people have contributed to the development of this volume and I am pleased and honored to thank them here. Most

notably, of course, I wish to offer my appreciation for the fine essays and timely work of the many authors—scholars without whom this volume could not have been assembled. In addition, I extend my gratitude for the helpful suggestions and encouragement of those persons who have been primarily responsible for the process of the completion and publication of the manuscript: Hans van der Meij (editor for E.J. Brill), and David P. Moessner and Abraham Malherbe (editors of the Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* series). In this same category I gratefully acknowledge the consistently fine work of Damian Dietlein, O.S.B., who willingly agreed to serve as a reader for the manuscript. Finally, it is with extreme pleasure that I thank the Keeper, together with the staff, of the British Library in London for their generous assistance in my acquisition and publication of the photographs of British Library Oriental Manuscript 9271. It is my hope and trust that the presentation of this text in a public forum (see Plates 1 and 2 at the conclusion of the volume) will provide a welcomed opportunity for those of us who have an interest in the Coptic version of the *Didache* and its implications for the history of the text.

Clayton N. Jefford
Saint Meinrad, Indiana
June 1994

ABBREVIATIONS

I. *Primary Sources*

<i>ACO</i>	<i>Apostolic Church Order</i> (= <i>Canons of the Holy Apostles</i>)
<i>ActsPhil</i>	<i>Acts of Philip</i>
<i>ActsThom</i>	<i>Acts of Thomas</i>
<i>AdVir</i>	Ps-Clement, <i>To the Virgins</i>
<i>AJ</i>	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
<i>ApocPet</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>
<i>Apol</i>	Apuleius, <i>Apology</i>
<i>IApol</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>1 Apology</i>
<i>ApolRuf</i>	Jerome, <i>Apology against Rufus</i>
<i>AT</i>	Old Testament
<i>AthCon</i>	Aristotle, <i>Athenian Constitution</i>
<i>Barn</i>	<i>Epistle of Barnabas</i>
<i>b.Mo'edQat</i>	Babylonian Talmud, tractate <i>Mo'ed Qatan</i>
<i>BrLib Or</i>	British Library Manuscript Collection—Oriental Series (= PLond Or & BrMus Or)
<i>BrMus Or</i>	British Museum Manuscript Collection—Oriental Series (=BrLib Or & PLond Or)
<i>CD</i>	Cairo (Genizah text of the) <i>Damascus Document</i>
<i>1 Chr</i>	1 Chronicles
<i>Chron</i>	Malalas, <i>Chronological Records</i>
<i>ComEccl</i>	(Ps-)Didymus the Blind, <i>Commentary on Ecclesiastes</i>
<i>ComEz</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentary on Ezekiel</i>
<i>ComMatt</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentary on Matthew</i>
<i>ComMi</i>	Jerome, <i>Commentary on Micah</i>
<i>ConApion</i>	Josephus, <i>Against Apion</i>
<i>ConCels</i>	Origen, <i>Against Celsus</i>
<i>ConHaer</i>	Irenaeus, <i>Against Heresies</i>
<i>ConPel</i>	Jerome, <i>Against the Pelagians</i>
<i>Const</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>
<i>Contest</i>	Ps-Clement, <i>Testimony Regarding the Recipients of the Epistles</i>
<i>1–2 Cor</i>	1–2 Corinthians
<i>Dan</i>	Daniel
<i>DeAleat</i>	Ps-Cyprian, <i>On Games of Chance</i>
<i>DeBapt</i>	Tertullian, <i>On Baptism</i>
<i>DeDecal</i>	Philo, <i>On the Decalogue</i>
<i>DeSacr</i>	Ambrose, <i>On the Sacraments</i>
<i>DeSubl</i>	Longinus, <i>On the Sublime</i>
<i>Dial</i>	Justin Martyr, <i>Dialogue (with Trypho)</i>
<i>Dial</i>	Origen, <i>Dialogue (with Heraclides)</i>
<i>Did</i>	<i>Didache</i> (= <i>Teaching of the Twelve Apostles</i>)
<i>Dida</i>	<i>Didascalia</i>
<i>Doct</i>	<i>Doctrina apostolorum</i>
<i>Dt</i>	Deuteronomy
<i>EpFest</i>	Athanasius, <i>Festal Letters</i>
<i>Eph</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to the Ephesians</i>

<i>EpTrajan</i>	Pliny the Younger, <i>Letters to Trajan</i>
1 Esdr	1 Esdras
Ex	Exodus
Ez	Ezekiel
Gal	Galatians
Gen	Genesis
<i>Geog</i>	Strabo, <i>Geography</i>
<i>GospPet</i>	<i>Gospel of Peter</i>
<i>GospThom</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas</i>
<i>GrDescr</i>	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i>
H	Codex Hierosolymitanus 54
<i>Haer</i>	Theodoret, <i>History of Heresies</i>
<i>HE</i>	Eusebius, <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>HermMan</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Mandates</i>
<i>HermSim</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Similitudes</i>
<i>HermVis</i>	<i>Shepherd of Hermas, Visions</i>
<i>Hist</i>	Thucydides, <i>History of the Peloponnesian War</i>
<i>Hom</i>	Aphraates, <i>Homilies</i>
<i>Hom10.8inJer</i>	Origen, <i>Homily on Jeremiah 10:8</i>
<i>Hyp</i>	Philo, <i>Hypothetica</i>
<i>InScrCanSex</i>	<i>Index of the Sixty Canonical Books of Scripture</i>
Is	Isaiah
Jas	James
Jer	Jeremiah
Jn	John
Jud	Judith
Judg	Judges
<i>JW</i>	Josephus, <i>The Jewish Wars</i>
1–2 Kgs	1–2 Kings
<i>LegIsa</i>	<i>Legend about Isaiah</i>
Lev	Leviticus
<i>LibHist</i>	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Library of History</i>
Lk	Luke
LXX	Septuagint
1–2 Macc	1–2 Maccabees
<i>m.'Abot</i>	Mishnah, tractate 'Abot
<i>Magn</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to the Magnesians</i>
Mal	Malachi
<i>MartIsa</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Isaiah</i>
<i>MartPol</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Polycarp</i>
<i>m.Ber</i>	Mishnah, tractate <i>Berakot</i>
Mi	Micah
Mk	Mark
MT	Masoretic Text
Mt	Matthew
<i>NatHist</i>	Pliny, <i>Natural History</i>
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NT	New Testament
Num	Numbers
OT	Old Testament
<i>Pan</i>	Epiphanius, <i>Panarion</i>
1 Pet	1 Peter

<i>Phld</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to the Philadelphians</i>
PLond Or	London Papyrus Manuscript Collection—Oriental Series (= BrLib Or & BrMus Or)
PMich	University of Michigan Papyrus Manuscript Collection
<i>Pol</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to Polycarp</i>
POxy	Oxyrhynchus papyrus
Pr	Proverbs
<i>PrEvan</i>	Eusebius, <i>A Preparation for the Gospel</i>
Ps	Psalm
Q	Sayings Gospel Q (the “Q” source of the synoptic gospels)
1QM	<i>War Scroll</i>
1QS	<i>Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline)</i>
3Q15	<i>Copper Scroll</i> (from Qumran Cave 3)
4QEn ^a	“The Book of Watchers” in 1 Enoch (from Qumran Cave 4)
11QT	<i>Temple Scroll</i> (from Qumran Cave 11)
<i>QuodProb</i>	Philo, <i>Every Good Man is Free</i>
RB	<i>Rule of Benedict</i>
Rev	Revelation
RM	<i>Rule of the Master</i>
Rom	Romans
<i>Rom</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to the Romans</i>
Sach	Zechariah
1 Sam	1 Samuel
<i>SibOr</i>	<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>
Sir	Sirach
<i>Sm</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to the Smyrneans</i>
<i>SpecLeg</i>	Philo, <i>On the Special Laws</i>
<i>Str</i>	Clement of Alexandria, <i>The Miscellanies</i>
<i>SynScrSac</i>	(Ps-)Athanasius, <i>Synopsis of Sacred Scripture</i>
<i>t.ʿArak</i>	Tosepta, tractate <i>ʿArakin</i>
<i>TestAbr</i>	<i>Testament of Abraham</i>
<i>TestAsh</i>	<i>Testament of Asher</i>
<i>TestBenj</i>	<i>Testament of Benjamin</i>
<i>TestDan</i>	<i>Testament of Dan</i>
<i>TestIsaac</i>	<i>Testament of Isaac</i>
<i>TestIss</i>	<i>Testament of Issachar</i>
<i>TestJud</i>	<i>Testament of Judah</i>
<i>TestSim</i>	<i>Testament of Simeon</i>
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
Tob	Tobit
<i>Trall</i>	Ignatius, <i>Letter to the Trallians</i>
<i>Vir</i>	Jerome, <i>On the Lives of Illustrious Men</i>
WisdSol	Wisdom of Solomon
<i>y.MoʿedQat</i>	Jerusalem Talmud, tractate <i>Moʿed Qatan</i>
Zech	Zechariah

II. Secondary Sources

AANLM	<i>Atti della accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie</i>
AB	The Anchor Bible

<i>ACan</i>	<i>Année canonique</i>
<i>AcApos</i>	<i>Acta apostolorum apocrypha</i> , Lipsius & Bonnet (eds.)
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AF	The Apostolic Fathers, R.M. Grant (ed.)
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJPh</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves</i>
<i>ALW</i>	<i>Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft</i>
<i>Analecta</i>	<i>Analecta</i> (2d ed.), E. Preuschen (ed.)
<i>AndRev</i>	<i>Andover Review</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
<i>APC</i>	<i>Annual de philosophie chrétien</i>
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>AThR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
AuC.E	Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband
<i>BAGD</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i> , W. Bauer, W.F. Arndt, F.W. Gingrich, F.W. Danker
<i>BDF</i>	<i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament</i> , F. Blass, A. Debrunner, R.W. Funk
<i>BDR</i>	<i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch</i> , F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf
BÉC	Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes
<i>BeO</i>	<i>Bibbia e oriente</i>
<i>Bess</i>	<i>Bessarione</i>
BETHL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BFChTh	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
<i>Bibl</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BKV	Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
BOSt	Bonner orientalische Studien. New Series
<i>BQR</i>	<i>British Quarterly Review</i>
<i>BS</i>	<i>Bibliotheca sacra</i>
BStR	Brown Studies in Religion
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CChr</i>	<i>Corpus christianorum</i>
<i>CD</i>	<i>La Ciudad de Dios</i>
<i>ChCent</i>	<i>Christian Century</i>
<i>ChQ</i>	<i>Church Quarterly</i>
<i>ChQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>Chr.d'Ég</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CIG	Corpus inscriptionum graecarum
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum</i> , J.B. Frey (ed.)
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
<i>ClR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
CopSt	Coptic Studies
CPS.G	Corona patrum salesiana. Series graeca
<i>CRv</i>	<i>Contemporary Review</i>
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium

CSEL	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum</i>
CStS	Cistercian Studies Series
CThL	Crown Theological Library
CTP	Collana di testi patristici
CWS	Classics of Western Spirituality
<i>Dictionary</i>	<i>A Dictionary of the Targumim...</i> , M. Jastrow (ed.)
<i>Didymos</i>	<i>Didymos der Blinde</i> , M. Gronewald (ed.)
<i>DjD</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i>
<i>DRev</i>	<i>Downside Review</i>
DTh	Dogmatic Theology
ÉBib	Études bibliques
EKKNT	Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>EphLiturg</i>	<i>Ephemerides liturgicae</i>
<i>Er</i>	<i>Eranos</i>
<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
ÉThH	Études de théologie historique
<i>EThL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvTh</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>Exp</i>	<i>Expositor</i>
FB	Forschung zur Bible
FC	Fontes christiani
FCh	Fathers of the Church
FFRS	Foundations and Facets—Reference Series
FP	Florilegium patristicum
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>FV</i>	<i>Foi et Vie</i>
GBS	Guides to Biblical Studies
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
HES	Hermes Einzelschriften
HFS	Haney Foundation Series
HNT.E	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ergänzungsband
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HSKW	Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
<i>HThR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HThS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IGSK	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JAC.E	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum. Ergänzungsband</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JGPÖ	<i>Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich</i>
JLH	<i>Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie</i>
JMTh	<i>Jahrbuch für mystische Theologie</i>
JP	<i>Journal of Philology</i>
JPTb	<i>Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>

<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
JS	Johanneische Studien
<i>JSBLE</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis</i> (= <i>JBL</i>)
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament—Supplement Series
<i>JThCh</i>	<i>Journal for Theology and the Church</i>
<i>JThS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAV	Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern
KIT	Kleine Texte für theologische und philologische Vorlesungen und Übungen
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LO	Lex orandi
LQF	Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen
<i>LSJ</i>	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones (eds.)
<i>MartIsa</i>	<i>Martyrdom of Isaiah</i>
MPMAFC	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire
<i>NE</i>	<i>New Englander</i>
<i>NGG.PH</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse</i>
NGSt	New Gospel Studies
<i>NovTest</i>	<i>Novum testamentum</i>
NovTestOA	Novum testamentum et orbis antiquus
NovTestSup	Novum testamentum—Supplement Series
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OCT	Outstanding Christian Thinkers
Or	Orientalia
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens christianus</i>
OrChrAn	Oriens christianus analecta
<i>OTP</i>	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , J.H. Charlesworth (ed.)
PETSE	Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile
PFLUS	Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg
PFTUN	Publications de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Neuchâtel
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia graeca</i> , J. Migne (ed.)
<i>PGM</i>	<i>Papyri graecae magicae</i> , K. Preisendanz (ed.)
<i>PhRh</i>	<i>Philosophy and Rhetoric</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , J. Migne (ed.)
<i>PNYAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the New York Academy of Sciences</i>
PoTh	Le point théologique
<i>PRSt</i>	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , Th. Klauser (ed.)
<i>RadRel</i>	<i>Radical Religion</i>
<i>RAM</i>	<i>Revue d'ascétique et mystique</i>
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>

<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RDC</i>	<i>Revue de droit canonique</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche</i> (3d ed.), J. Herzog (ed.)
<i>RechSR</i>	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
<i>RHLR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
<i>RivAC</i>	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'orient chrétien</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i>
<i>RSE</i>	<i>Rassegna di studi etiopici</i>
<i>RThAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i>
<i>RThPh</i>	<i>Revue de théologie et de philosophie</i>
<i>SAQ</i>	Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften
<i>SBLDS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature—Dissertation Series
<i>SBLTT</i>	Society of Biblical Literature—Texts and Translations Series
<i>SBS</i>	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>SCatt</i>	<i>Scuola cattolica</i>
<i>ScrCop</i>	Scriptores coptici
<i>SCSI</i>	<i>Scuola cattolica e la scienze italiana</i>
<i>SCTh</i>	Sources of Christian Theology
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
<i>SEAug</i>	<i>Studia ephemeridis augustinianum</i>
<i>SecCent</i>	<i>Second Century</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> , J.J.E. Hondius (ed.)
<i>SGKA</i>	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums
<i>SGKA.E</i>	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. Ergän- zungsband
<i>STh</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	Society for New Testament Studies—Monograph Series
<i>SocFoc</i>	<i>Sociological Focus</i>
<i>SocInq</i>	<i>Sociological Inquiry</i>
<i>SQS</i>	Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften
<i>StA</i>	<i>Studia anselmiana</i>
<i>StAW</i>	Studienhefte zur Altertumswissenschaft
<i>StBibl</i>	<i>Studia biblica</i>
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
<i>StDSD</i>	<i>Studi e documenti di storia e diritto</i>
<i>StEvan</i>	<i>Studia evangelica</i>
<i>StGU</i>	<i>Studia graeca upsaliensis</i>
<i>StJLA</i>	<i>Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity</i>
<i>StLit</i>	<i>Studia liturgica</i>
<i>StPatr</i>	<i>Studia patristica</i>
<i>Str-B</i>	<i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament</i> , H. Strack & P. Billerbeck
<i>StRel</i>	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses</i>
<i>StTh</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
<i>StVTP</i>	<i>Studia in veteris testamenti pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>SUC</i>	Schriften des Urchristentums

SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , G. Kittel & G. Friedrich (eds.)
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> , G.J. Botterweck & H. Ringgren (eds.)
TextesD	Textes et documents
ThB	Theologische Bücherei
ThGl	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
ThH	Théologie historique
ThJ	<i>Theologische Jahrbücher</i>
ThJHC	<i>Theology. Journal of Historic Christianity</i>
ThLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
ThPh	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
ThQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
ThRv	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
ThSt	<i>Theological Studies</i>
ThStKr	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
ThT	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
ThTL	Theological Translation Library
ThW	<i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> , G. Kittel & G. Friedrich (eds.)
TST	Toronto Studies in Theology
TSt	Texts for Students
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
UB.E	Die urchristliche Botschaft. Ergänzungsband
UPPS.P	Université de Paris IV Paris-Sorbonne. Série "Papyrologie"
VD	<i>Verbum domini</i>
VetChr	<i>Vetera christianum</i>
VGThB	Van Gorcum's theologische Bibliothek
VigChr	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i>
VigChrSup	<i>Vigiliae christianae</i> —Supplement Series
VKHSM	Veröffentlichungen aus dem kirchenhistorischen Seminar
WdF	Wege der Forschung
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WSt	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WW	<i>Word and World</i>
ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
ZKR	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht</i>
ZKTh	<i>Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
ZThK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
ZWTh	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

I. TEXT

THE *DIDACHE*: AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

AELRED CODY, O.S.B.

Saint Meinrad Archabbey, Saint Meinrad, Indiana, U.S.A.

The Greek text which is translated here is the one that was established by Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier.¹ It is basically the text of the only direct Greek witness,² which is manuscript 54 (ff. 76r–80v) in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem. This is the same text as that which was identified by Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios in 1873 when the manuscript was still in the *metochion* of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Constantinople. After an internal criticism of the Greek text itself, Rordorf and Tuilier have made several restorations which are supported by one or more of the ancient versions and indirect witnesses. These restorations are marked in the translation below, and the witnesses which support them are identified in footnotes. According to the principle *lectio difficilior potior*, I have resisted temptations to hazard any further emendation, whether by appeal to the Coptic version (e.g., to substitute *περὶ πάντων* for *πρὸ πάντων* in 10.4) or to a parallel passage in some other early Christian document (e.g., to substitute *ἄρτος* for *κλάσμα* in 9.3, 4).

I have used the following symbols in the translation:

< > Pointed brackets are used to enclose a word or phrase which was restored by Rordorf and Tuilier (see the preceding paragraph).

[] Brackets are used to enclose matter which belongs to one of the following categories: 1) an English word or words which do not correspond to anything that is overtly expressed in the original text but which I have inserted for clarification or for the logical completion of what is expressed elliptically by the Greek; 2) an alternative translation; 3) my debatable interpretation (introduced by “i.e.”) of an idiomatic or obscure expression in the Greek text; or 4) an indication that the grammatical second person appears in the plural form

¹ W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 140–98.

² The fragmentary text of POxy 1782 contains minor variants at 1.3–4 and 2.7–3.2 but has no true bearing upon the translation.

in that part of the *Didache* where it generally is found in the singular form, or in the singular in that part where it generally is found in the plural (see the following paragraph).

In the translation of the grammatical second person I have used “you” forms, avoiding “thou” forms entirely. In the Greek text, however, the readers or hearers of the *Didache* sometimes are addressed in the second person singular form, though at other times in the second person plural. It is difficult to make this distinction evident without at the same time creating an excessive burden for the translation. But since the distinction is important for the critical study of the document, I have resorted to the following solution in those passages where the audience of the *Didache* is addressed in the second person form:

1) In chapters 1–6, the second person *singular* form is usual in the Greek and should be understood in the English translation. The exceptional use of the second person plural form in these chapters is indicated by the insertion of the marker “[pl.]”.

2) Conversely, in chapters 7–16, the second person *plural* form is usual and should be understood in the translation of these chapters. Any occurrence of the second person singular form in these chapters is signaled by the insertion of the marker “[sing.]”.

DOCTRINE OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

DOCTRINE OF THE LORD [BROUGHT] TO THE NATIONS BY THE TWELVE APOSTLES

I

1 There are two ways, one of life, the other of death, and between the two ways there is a great difference.

2 Now the way of life is this: you shall love first the God who created you, then your neighbor as yourself, and do not yourself do to another what you would not want done to you.

3 Here is the teaching [that flows] from these words. Bless [pl. throughout verse 3] those who curse you and pray for your enemies, fast for those who persecute you. (What kind of favor is it when you love those who love you? Do not even the nations do that? Just love those who hate you and you will not have any enemy.) **4** Avoid the fleshly and bodily passions. If someone strikes you on your right cheek, turn your other one to him too, and you will be perfect. If someone presses you into one mile of service, go along with him for two. If someone takes your cloak, give him your tunic as well. If someone takes away from you what is yours, do not demand it back (since you cannot do so anyway). **5** Give to everyone what he asks of you, and do not ask for it back, for the Father wants people to share with everyone the gifts that have been freely granted to them. Blessed is the person who gives according to the commandment, for he is guiltless. Alas for the person who takes. If someone takes something because he is in need, he is guiltless, but if he is not in need, he shall have to defend his reason for taking it and the use for which he intends it; if he is imprisoned, he shall be interrogated about what he has done, and he shall not go free until he has paid back the last penny. **6** But then about this sort of thing it has also been said, "Let your charitable gift sweat in your hands until you know to whom you are giving it."

II

1 The second commandment of the doctrine: **2** You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not corrupt

children. You shall not fornicate. You shall not steal. You shall not practice magic. You shall not use the confections of a sorcerer. You shall not murder a child, whether by [procuring its] abortion or by killing it once it is born. You shall not covet what belongs to your neighbor. **3** You shall not swear falsely. You shall not bear false witness. You shall not speak evil of anyone. You shall not harbor resentment. **4** You shall not equivocate, either in what you think or in what you say, for equivocation is a mortal snare. **5** Your word shall not be false or empty but shall be fulfilled in what you really do. **6** You shall not be given to greed, or swindling, or hypocrisy, or malice, or pride. You shall not plot evil against your neighbor. **7** You shall not hate anyone. Some people, though, you shall call to task, and for them you shall pray. Others you shall love more than yourself.

III

1 My child, flee from all evil and from everything like it. **2** Do not be an angry person, for anger leads to murder; nor should you be a zealot or a quarrelsome or hot-tempered person, for from all of these [traits of character] flow murderous acts. **3** My child, do not be a person given to passion, because passion leads to fornication; nor should you be given to obscene speech or to bold gazes, for from all of these [actions] flow acts of adultery. **4** My child, do not practice soothsaying, because this leads to idolatry; nor should you be an enchanter, or an astrologer, or a person who performs purificatory rituals; you should not even want to see <or hear>^a such things, for from all of these [activities] idolatry is spawned. **5** My child, do not be a liar, because lying leads to theft; nor should you be given to avarice or to vainglory, for from all of these [traits of character] theft is spawned. **6** My child, do not be a grumbler, because this leads to slander; nor should you be stubbornly willful or disposed to think evil of people, for from all these [attitudes] slanderous behavior is spawned.

7 On the contrary, be mild tempered, since those who are mild tempered will inherit the land. **8** Be patient and merciful, without

^a Read μηδὲ ἀκούειν with the parallel passages in the *Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles*, the *Epitome of the Canons of the Holy Apostles*, and the Latin *Doctrina apostolorum* (where it is reflected as *nec audire*).

guile, tranquil and good, holding constantly in awe the words you have heard. **9** You shall not exalt yourself or let yourself be arrogant. You shall not attach yourself to those who are highly placed but shall associate with those who are just and humble. **10** Accept the experiences that come your way as good ones, knowing that nothing happens without God.

IV

1 My child, you shall be mindful day and night of the one who speaks to you the word of God. You shall honor him as the Lord, for at the source of discourse on lordship the Lord is there. **2** You shall seek out the holy persons every day to find support in their words.

3 You shall not cause division; instead, you shall reconcile those who quarrel. You shall judge justly. You shall not show partiality in calling people to task for their faults. **4** You shall not show indecision [in determining] whether [something] shall be or shall not be. **5** Do not be the sort of person who holds out his hands to receive but draws them back when it comes to giving. **6** If you have [something] through the work of your hands, you shall give [something as] redemption of your sins. **7** You shall not hesitate to give, and when you give you shall not grumble, for you will know who the paymaster is who gives good wages. **8** You shall not turn away anyone who is in need; on the contrary, you shall hold everything in common with your brother, and you shall not say that anything is your own, for if you [pl.] are partners in what is immortal, [should you not be so] all the more in things that perish?

9 You shall not be remiss in guiding your son or your daughter, but shall teach them reverence for God from [the days of] their youth. **10** You shall not show your harsh side when you give a command to your slave or your maid, those who hope in the same God, lest they stop revering the God who is over both [you and them]. For he comes not to call [people] according to their personal status but [to call] those on whom he has prepared the spirit [to descend] [or, (he comes) rather upon those whom the spirit has prepared].

11 As for you [pl.] who are slaves, with respect and reverence you shall be subject to your masters as replicas of God.

12 You shall hate all hypocrisy and all that is not pleasing to

the Lord. **13** You shall not abandon the commandments of the Lord but shall keep what you have received, without adding or subtracting anything. **14** In the assembly you shall confess your faults, and you shall not approach with a bad conscience to make your prayer. This is the way of life.

V

1 And the way of death is this. Above all, it is evil and full of accursedness; [Characteristic of it are] acts of murder, adultery, passion, fornication, theft, idolatry, magic, sorcery, robbery, false witness, hypocrisy, duplicity, guile, pride, malice, willful stubbornness, avarice, obscene speech, jealousy, insolence, arrogance, boastfulness, <irreverence>.^b **2** [Characteristic of it are also] people who persecute the good, who hate truth, who love falsehood, who do not know money earned in a just way, who do not adhere to what is good or to just judgment, who stay up late at night for purposes that are not good but evil, who are far from being mild tempered and patient, who love what is futile, who are out for money, who do not show mercy to a poor person, who are not distressed by [the plight of] the oppressed, who do not know him who made them, [who are] child murderers, who abort what God has formed, who reject the needy person, who oppress the person who is distressed, [who are] defenders of the rich [and] unjust judges of the poor—[people who are] sinners in everything that they do.

Children, from all this may you [pl.] be preserved.

VI

1 See to it that no one leads you astray from this way of the doctrine, since [the person who would do so] teaches apart from God. **2** If you can bear the entire yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can.

3 As for food, bear what you can, but be very much on your guard against food offered to idols, for it is [related to] worship of dead gods.

^b Read ἀφοβία with the parallel passages in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the Latin *Doctrina apostolorum* (where it is reflected as *non timentes*).

VII

1 As for baptism, baptize this way.^c

Having said all this beforehand [i.e., all that is written above], baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, in running water.

2 If you [sing. through verses 2-4] do not have running water, however, baptize in another kind of water; if you cannot [do so] in cold [water], then [do so] in warm [water]. **3** But if you have neither, pour water on the head thrice in the name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

4 Before the baptism, let the person baptizing and the person being baptized—and others who are able—fast; tell the one being baptized to fast one or two [days] before.

VIII

1 Let your fasts not [coincide] with [those of] the hypocrites. They fast on Monday and Thursday; you, though, should fast on Wednesday and Friday. **2** And do not pray as the hypocrites [do]; pray instead this way, as the Lord directed in his gospel:

“Our Father in heaven,
 May your name be acclaimed as holy,
 May your kingdom come,
 May your will come to pass on earth as it does in heaven.
 Give us today our bread for the morrow,
 And cancel for us our debt [owed for sin],
 As we cancel [debts] for those who are indebted to us,
 And do not bring us into temptation,
 But preserve us from evil [or, from the evil one].
 For power and glory are yours forever.”

3 Pray this way thrice daily.

IX

1 As for thanksgiving, give thanks this way.

2 First, with regard to the cup:

^c Here and throughout the following chapters to the end of the work, the second person *plural* form is used when the audience is addressed.

We thank you, our Father,
 For the holy vine of David your servant
 which you made known to us
 through Jesus your servant.
 To you be glory forever.

3 And with regard to the fragment:

We thank you, our Father,
 For the life and knowledge
 which you made known to us
 through Jesus your servant.
 To you be glory forever.

4 As this fragment lay scattered upon the mountains
 and became a single [fragment] when it had been
 gathered,
 May your church be gathered into your kingdom
 from the ends of the earth.
 For glory and power are yours,
 through Jesus Christ, forever.

5 Let no one eat or drink of your thanksgiving [meal; i.e., the eucharistic meal] save those who have been baptized in the name of the Lord, since the Lord has said, "Do not give to dogs what is holy."

X

1 When you have had your fill, give thanks this way:

2 We thank you, holy Father,
 For your holy name,
 which you made dwell in our hearts,
 And for the knowledge and faith and immortality,
 which you made known to us
 through Jesus your servant.
 To you be glory forever.

3 You, almighty Lord, created all things for the sake of
 your name, and you gave food and drink to human
 beings for enjoyment, so that they would thank you;
 But you graced us with spiritual food and drink and
 eternal life through <Jesus>^d your servant.

^d Read Ἰησοῦ with the Coptic version. The reading is consistent with parallel phrases in the Greek text; see 9.2, 3; 10.2.

- 4** Above all, we thank you, Lord, because you are powerful.
To you be glory forever.
- 5** Be mindful, Lord, of your church,
to preserve it from all evil [or, from every evil being]
and to perfect it in your love.
- And, once it is sanctified, gather it from the four winds,
into the kingdom which you have prepared for it.
For power and glory are yours forever.
- 6** May favor [or, grace] come, and may this world pass by.
Hosanna to the God of David!
If anyone is holy, let him come.
If anyone is not, let him repent.
Our Lord, come! Amen.
- 7** Allow the prophets, though, to give thanks as much as they like.

XI

1 Accordingly, receive anyone who comes and teaches you all that has been said above. **2** If the teacher himself turns to teaching another doctrine [which will lead] to destruction, do not listen to him, but [if it will lead] to an increase of justice and knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord.

3 In the matter of apostles and prophets, act this way, according to the ordinance of the gospel. **4** Let every apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. **5** He shall stay <only>^c one day, or, if need be, another day too. If he stays three days, he is a false prophet. **6** When the apostle leaves, let him receive nothing but [enough] bread [to see him through] until he finds lodging. If he asks for money, he is a false prophet. **7** Do not test any prophet who speaks in spirit, and do not judge him, for every [other] sin will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven. **8** Not everyone who speaks in spirit is a prophet but only the one whose behavior is the Lord's. So the false prophet and the prophet will be recognized by their behavior. **9** Any prophet who gives orders for a table [i.e., a meal] in spirit shall not eat of it; if he does, he is a false

^c The negated particle *ἐἰ μὴ* is found in a similar sentence at 12.2, and it is supported by the Ethiopic version. Without it, the Greek sentence means "he shall not stay one day," which does not fit the context.

prophet. **10** If any prophet teaching the truth does not do what he teaches, he is a false prophet. **11** No prophet, examined and found true, who acts for the earthly mystery of the church but does not teach [others] to do everything that he himself does, shall be judged by you, for his judgment is with God. The ancient prophets acted in the same way. **12** You shall not listen to anyone who says in spirit, "Give me money, or something," but if he is asking that something be given for others who are in need, let no one judge him.

XII

1 Let everyone who comes in the name of the Lord be received, and then, when you have taken stock of him, you will know [what he is like], for you will have right and left perception [i.e., perception of what is good and bad about him]. **2** If the person who comes is just passing through on the way to some other place, help him as much as you can, but he shall not stay with you more than two or three days—if that is necessary. **3** If he wants to settle in with you, though, and he is a craftsman, let him work and [thus] eat. **4** If he has no craft, you shall use your insight to provide a good way for him to avoid living with you as a Christian with nothing to do. **5** If he is unwilling to do what that way calls for, he is using Christ to make a living. Be on your guard against people like this.

XIII

1 Every true prophet who wants to settle in with you deserves his food. **2** In the same way, a true teacher, too, deserves his food, just as a worker does. **3** So when you [sing.] take any firstfruits of what is produced by the wine press and the threshing floor, by cows and by sheep, you [sing.] shall give the firstfruits to the prophets, for they are your [pl.] high priests. **4** If, however, you [pl. through verse 4] have no prophet, give [them] to the poor. **5** If you [sing. through verses 5–7] make bread, take the firstfruits and give them according to the commandment. **6** Likewise, when you open a jar of wine or oil, take the firstfruits and give them to the prophets. **7** Take the firstfruits of money and clothing and whatever [else] you own as you think best and give them according to the commandment.

XIV

1 Assembling on every Sunday of the Lord, break bread and give thanks, confessing your faults besides so that your sacrifice may be clean. **2** Let no one engaged in a dispute with his comrade join you until they have been reconciled, lest your sacrifice be profaned. **3** This is [the sacrifice] of which the Lord has said: “to offer me a clean sacrifice in every place and time, because I am a great king,” says the Lord, ‘and my name is held in wonder among the nations.’”

XV

1 Select, then, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, mild tempered men who are not greedy, who are honest and have proved themselves, for they too perform the functions of prophets and teachers for you. **2** So do not disregard them, for they are the persons who hold a place of honor among you, together with the prophets and the teachers.

3 Correct one another not in anger but in peace, as you have it [written] in the gospel; and let no one speak to anyone who wrongs another—let him not hear [a word] from you—until he has repented. **4** Perform your prayers and your almsgiving and all that you undertake as you have it [written] in the gospel of our Lord.

XVI

1 Keep vigil over your life. Let your lamps not go out and let your waists not be ungirded but be ready, for you do not know the hour at which our Lord is coming. **2** You shall assemble frequently, seeking what pertains to your souls, for the whole time of your belief will be of no profit to you unless you are perfected at the final hour. **3** For in the final days false prophets and corruptors will be multiplied, and the sheep will turn into wolves, and love will turn into hate. **4** As lawlessness increases, they will hate and persecute and betray one another, and at that time the one who leads the world astray will appear as a son of God and will work signs and wonders, and the earth will be given into his hands, and he will do godless things which have never been done since the beginning of time. **5** Then human creation will pass into the testing fire and many will fall away and perish, but those who persevere in their

belief will be saved by the curse itself [or, by the very one who is (under?) a curse?]. **6** And then the signs of truth will appear, first, the sign of extension [of the cross?] in heaven, next, the signal of the trumpet call, and third, resurrection of the dead— **7** not of all, however, but, as it has been said, “The Lord will come and all the holy ones with him.” **8** Then the world will see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven . . .^f

^f The text probably had a few more lines which have been lost in the direct line of transmission.

DER DIDACHIST UND SEINE QUELLEN

KURT NIEDERWIMMER

Universität Wien, Wien, Österreich

Im folgenden bemühe ich mich, meine im *Didache*-Kommentar¹ aufgestellte Hypothese über die Verarbeitung der Quellen durch den Didachisten² am fortlaufenden Text (einem "Arbeitstext") sichtbar zu machen. Es geht mir ausschließlich um die Darstellung der literarischen Verhältnisse: Wo redet der Didachist, wo zitiert er seine Quellen?

Ich gehe also im folgenden davon aus, ohne das noch einmal im einzelnen zu begründen, daß dem Didachisten³ eine Reihe von überlieferten Quellen vorlagen, die er zu einem "Regelbuch" verarbeitet

¹ K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1993).

² Vgl. Niederwimmer (1993), S. 64–80, näherhin dann die Aufstellungen über die Texte, die ich dem Didachisten zuteile (S. 70). Ein kurzes Referat über die verschiedenen Thesen der Forschung betreffend die Frage der Entstehung der *Didache*: S. 64–78. Zu neueren Aufstellungen vgl. die interessanten, aber m.E. in einigen Punkten problematischen Thesen über die Geschichte der *Didache*-Gemeinden und über das Werden des Buches bei C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989). Vgl. speziell die Zusammenfassung S. 142–45. C.N. Jefford und S.J. Patterson haben die kühne These vorgetragen, die *Didache* hätte in einer früheren Rezension (wie der BrMus Or 9271) mit 12,2a geschlossen, in "A Note on *Didache* 12,2a (Coptic)," *SecCen* 7 (1989–90), S. 65–75. Vgl. dazu unten Anm. 16. A. Milavec, "The Pastoral Genius of the *Didache*: An Analytical Translation and Commentary," in J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Religious Writings and Religious Systems*, Vol. 2 (Atlanta, 1989), S. 89–125 hat versucht, Thesen über den näheren Anlaß zur Entstehung unserer Schrift zu proponieren (näherhin S. 121–25). Übrigens hält Milavec 15,1–2 für eine spätere Einfügung (a.a.O. S. 104.119–20), worin ich ihm nicht folgen kann.

³ B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis* (Berlin, 1992), S. 22–27 ist dafür eingetreten, daß der Titel der Schrift zu einem früheren Zeitpunkt διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων geheiß haben. Im übrigen teilt Steimer (S. 25) die Hypothese, daß die Schrift ursprünglich anonym war und erst "nachträglich apostolische Verfasserschaft" imputiert wurde. Zur Titelfrage vgl. auch D. Hellholm, "The Visions He Saw or: To Encode the Future in Writing. An Analysis of the Prologue of John's Apocalyptic Letter," in T.W. Jennings, Jr. (ed.), *Text and Logos* (Atlanta, 1990), S. 109–39 (näherhin: S. 112–13). Hellholm hält die Inscriptio (Kurtitel) für eine Titelverkürzung des Incipit (Langtitel) und die Zitate bei Euseb, Athanasius, und Rufin für "name labels." Die These Hellholms (Originalität des Langtitels) hat freilich die Schwierigkeit, daß der Langtitel gar nicht zum Inhalt der folgenden Schrift paßt. Ich möchte an meinen (Niederwimmer [1993], S. 81–82) geäußerten Aufstellungen über die Titelfrage festhalten.

hat.⁴ Hier ist zuerst der manchmal als "Grundschrift" bezeichnete sog. Wege-Traktat zu nennen, eine ursprünglich jüdische Schrift, die der Didachist (wie ich meine) in einer bereits leicht christlich überarbeiteten Fassung erhalten hat (als Sigel verwende ich: TR für tractatus).⁵ Zu nennen ist sodann eine Reihe von liturgischen Traditionen, Anweisungen über Taufe und Mahlfeier, wobei man zweifeln kann, ob diese Traditionen nur mündlich oder (was wahrscheinlicher ist) bereits schriftlich vorlagen (Sigel: AG für Agende). Weiters ist ein vermutlich schriftlich vorgelegener Text zu nennen mit Anweisungen darüber, wie die Ortsgemeinden wandernde Lehrer, Apostel und Propheten aufzunehmen hätten (Sigel: PER für peregrinantes). Schließlich ist auf die kleine Apokalypse hinzuweisen, mit der der Didachist sein Buch abschloß (Sigel: APC). Der Didachist hat alle diese Quellen (TR, AG, PER und APC) zu einem Ganzen kompiliert und durch eigene Zusätze erweitert. Für den Didachisten, d.h. also für seine kommentarartigen Einführungen und für die längeren Zusätze, die er zu seinen Quellen gegeben hat, steht das Sigel: D, für kleinere Einfügungen steht das Sigel: (D). Die Texte, die ich dem Didachisten zuweise, sind kursiv gedruckt. Auf diese Weise kann (die Richtigkeit meiner Hypothesen einmal vorausgesetzt) das Ausmaß der redaktionellen Tätigkeit des Didachisten und die Abgrenzung seiner Vorlagen erkannt werden. Und dies deutlich zu machen, ist die Intention des vorliegenden Aufsatzes.

Ein Wort zu den Zitaten aus der Jesus-Überlieferung synoptischen Stils.⁶ Wir finden solche Zitate (1.) innerhalb der Quellenstücke, die

⁴ Niederwimmer (1993), S. 66–70. Vgl. jetzt auch H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London, 1990), S. 16: "The *Didache* is a compilation of several older sources; some of these older components may have preserved the terminology of an earlier period. On the other hand, redactional passages reveal the vocabulary of the later editor." Zur Frage nach der Gattung unserer Schrift, vgl. Niederwimmer (1993), S. 13–15. Innerhalb der übergreifenden Gattungsbestimmung "Regel," die das Kompilat als Ganzes bezeichnen will, haben wir selbstverständlich verschiedene Untergattungen vor uns. Vgl. jetzt besonders Steimer (1992), S. 192–210, zum Geltungsanspruch, S. 265–66. Interessant ist auch, was Georg Schöllgen über die frühen Kirchenordnungen geschrieben hat, in G. Schöllgen, "Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre," in G. Schöllgen und W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991), S. 13–21. Zur Gattung und Eigenart unserer Schrift, vgl. jetzt auch I.H. Henderson, "Didache and Orality in Synoptic Comparison," *JBL* 111 (1992), S. 283–306.

⁵ Über den Wege-Traktat, Niederwimmer (1993), S. 48–64; Schöllgen (1991), S. 27–41.

⁶ Niederwimmer (1993), S. 71–77. Neuere Untersuchungen: J.M. Court, "The Didache and St. Matthew's Gospel," *SJT* 34 (1981), S. 109–20; J.A. Draper, "The

der Didachist verwendet (AG, PER und APC). Diese Zitate waren, weil sie zur Tradition *innerhalb* der Tradition gehören, also zu den Traditionselementen *innerhalb* der Quellen der *Didache*, hier nicht auszuzeichnen.⁷ Mir geht es (wie schon gesagt) im folgenden ja nur um die Aufgabe, die redaktionelle Tätigkeit des Didachisten und die Abgrenzung seiner Vorlagen kenntlich zu machen. Die Traditionen der Vorlagen sind hier nicht Gegenstand der Untersuchung.⁸ Neben den Elementen der Jesus-Überlieferung innerhalb der Quellen gibt es aber nun auch (2.) Zitate der Jesus-Überlieferung *in der redaktionellen Schicht* der *Didache*. Diese sind sehr wohl auszuzeichnen. Ich setze sie nicht kursiv, weil sie jedenfalls zu den *Vorgaben* des Didachisten gehören. Woher sie stammen, ist bekanntlich eine der schwierigsten Fragen der *Didache*. Hat der Didachist diese Logien aus der mündlichen Tradition, aus einem Evangelium scriptum, aus mehreren Evangelia scripta (deren Text er mischt), aus einer Art Evangelienharmonie, oder hat er diese Elemente (wofür einiges sprechen könnte) aus einer apokryphen Schrift vom Typus der Logienquelle? Diese Probleme sind auch trotz neuerer Untersuchungen noch nicht sicher gelöst. Ich verwende jedenfalls für die Texte dieser Art das Sigel: SYN.⁹

Jesus Tradition in the Didache," in D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives*, Vol. 5 (Sheffield, 1985), S. 269–87; D.A. Hagner, "The Sayings of Jesus in the Apostolic Fathers and Justin Martyr," in D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives*, Vol. 5 (Sheffield, 1985), S. 233–68 (näherhin S. 240–42); W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* (Tübingen, 1987), speziell S. 30–56; Jefford (1989), passim; C.M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the Didache," in J.M. Sevrin et al. (eds.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (Leuven, 1989), S. 197–230; H. Koester, "From the Kerygma-Gospel to Written Gospels," *NTS* 35 (1989), S. 361–81 (näherhin: S. 371–72); Koester (1990), S. 16–17 und passim; W. Rordorf, "Does the Didache Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?," in H. Wansbrough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (Sheffield, 1991), S. 394–423; Schöllgen (1991), S. 83. Die neuere Literatur zeigt sehr deutlich, daß wir von einer allgemein akzeptierten Lösung noch weit entfernt sind.

⁷ Übrigens vertrete ich die Auffassung, daß die in AG, PER und APC zitierte Jesus-Überlieferung an keiner Stelle notwendigerweise auf ein *schriftliches* Evangelium zurückgehen muß. Die Frage eines schriftlichen Evangeliums stellt sich m.E. ernsthafter erst in der redaktionellen Schicht. Vgl. Niederwimmer (1993), S. 72.

⁸ Einzelnes dazu in Niederwimmer (1993).

⁹ Ein Wort zur *sectio evangelica*. Der Bestandteil 1,3b–2,1 ist m.E. keine nachträgliche Glosse (Vertreter dieser Auffassung: Niederwimmer [1993], S. 94 Anm. 2), sondern vom Didachisten eingefügt, um den Wege-Traktat stärker zu verchristlichen. Vgl. Niederwimmer (1993), S. 93–100; und jetzt auch (vorsichtig) Schöllgen (1991), S. 31–36. Das verwendete Material ist inhomogen. V. 3b–5a stammt aus der Jesus-Überlieferung, ebenso V. 5d. Dazwischen (V. 5b und 5c) steht eine paränetische Sentenz, die ähnlich auch in *HermMan* 2,4–6 erscheint. Doch war dem Didachisten auch diese Sentenz bereits vorgegeben und er hielt sie wahrscheinlich für ein Stück

Analoges gilt für die Zitate aus dem Alten Testament. Sofern sie sich *innerhalb* der Quellen finden, waren sie nicht auszuzeichnen.¹⁰ Anders steht es mit den zwei oder drei Reflexionszitaten des Alten Testaments *in der didachistischen Schicht* (1,6?, 14,3 und 16,7). Ich verwende dafür das Sigel: AT.

Im übrigen ist noch zu sagen, daß der fortlaufende Text durch Abschnitte gegliedert ist, die meiner im Kommentar dargebotenen Struktur-Analyse entsprechen.¹¹ Einige Texte, bei denen sich die Kolometrie aufdrängte, sind kolometrisch gesetzt. Auf diese Weise wird auch *die Struktur der Schrift*, wie sie sich mir darstellt, sichtbar gemacht.¹² Ich füge noch ausdrücklich hinzu, daß ich mich in den (vorwiegend) textkritischen Anmerkungen¹³ (da es mir nicht um eine Edition des Textes geht, sondern lediglich um eine Veranschaulichung der Quellenlage bzw. der Struktur) auf das Notwendigste beschränke. Nur einige wenige, besonders heikle Stellen werden berücksichtigt und nur die wichtigsten Angaben werden gemacht.¹⁴

Zum Text und zu den wenigen Anmerkungen ist auf folgende Abkürzungen hinzuweisen:¹⁵

Jesus-Überlieferung. Daher: SYN. Anders steht es mit 16,1–2. Auch hier findet sich paränetisches Material an ein Stück Jesus-Überlieferung gefügt. Aber der Didachist wird 16,2 schwerlich für ein Jesus-Wort gehalten haben. 16,2 ist ein Grenzfall. Ich setze vorläufig: (D unde?). Auf die Frage, ob 1,3b–2,1 eine traditionsgeschichtliche Vorgeschichte gehabt hat, und wenn ja, welche, ist hier nicht einzugehen. Für das in 13,1 eingestreute Zitat aus der Jesus-Überlieferung (Probleme: Niederwimmer [1993], S. 228–29) setze ich: (SYN).

¹⁰ Im übrigen sind bekanntlich der (ursprünglich rein jüdische) Wege-Traktat, die Agende und die Apokalypse getränkt von alttestamentlicher und frühjüdischer Tradition, wie jeder Kommentar zeigt. Das ist hier aber nicht aufzuweisen.

¹¹ Niederwimmer (1993), S. 11–12 und passim.

¹² Eine andere Struktur-Analyse findet sich jetzt bei Milavec (1989), S. 92–101. Übereinstimmungen und Differenzen sind lehrreich.

¹³ Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, daß in manchen Fällen die textkritischen Anmerkungen da und dort in das Gebiet der Literarkritik übergehen.

¹⁴ Über die direkte und indirekte Texttradition: Niederwimmer (1993), S. 33–47; Schöllgen (1991), S. 85–94. Jeder *Didache*-Text hat heute nur provisorischen Charakter. Solange uns neue Texte fehlen, müssen wir uns mit der provisorischen Situation abfinden. Eine Edition müßte (zum Unterschied von dem im folgenden gebotenen Arbeitstext) m.E. nicht nur selbstverständlich einen vollständigen Apparat bringen, sondern sollte auch im Wege-Teil *Didache*, *Doctrina*, *Canones*, und *Epitome* synoptisch nebeneinander stellen.

¹⁵ Vgl. schon: K. Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme der Didache," *WSt* NF 16 (1982), S. 129–30.

Direkte Überlieferung

Codex Hierosolymitanus 54, Reproduktion bei: J.R. Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles* (Διδαχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων). *Newly Edited, with Facsimile Text and a Commentary, for the John Hopkins University* (London und Baltimore, 1887); Sigel: **H**.

POxy 1782 bei: B.-P. Grenfell und A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 15 (London, 1922), S. 14; Sigel: **P**.

Versionen

Das koptische Fragment BrMus Or 9271 zuletzt bei: L.-T. Lefort, *Les Pères Apostoliques en Copte*, CSCO 135, ScrCop 17 (Louvain, 1952), S. 32–34; franz. Übersetzung: *Les Pères Apostoliques en Copte*, CSCO 136, ScrCop 18 (Louvain, 1952), S. 25–28; Sigel: **Copt.**¹⁶

Die Fragmente der äthiopischen Version bei: G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (London, 1904), S. 54–55, 193–94; deutsche Übersetzung: H. Duensing bei A. Adam, "Erwägungen zur Herkunft der Didache," in ders., *Sprache und Dogma. Untersuchungen zu Grundproblemen der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Ruhbach (Gütersloh, 1969), S. 36–37; Sigel: **Eth**.

Die georgische Version deutsch bei: G. Peradse, "Die 'Lehre der zwölf Apostel' in der georgischen Überlieferung," *ZNW* 31 (1932), S. 111–16; Sigel: **Georg**.

Indirekte Überlieferung

Constitutiones apostolicae 7,1–32 in M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, Vol. 3, SC 336 (Paris, 1987); Sigel: **Const.**¹⁷

¹⁶ Jefford und Patterson (1989–90) haben die These vertreten, daß eine Frühform der *Didache* mit 12,2a geschlossen habe, wie jetzt noch Copt. zeigt (S. 65–75). Sie berufen sich bei dieser Hypothese u.a. auch auf die von mir erörterte Inkonzinnität zwischen c. 11 (Apostel und Propheten) und c.13 (Propheten und Lehrer). Aber kann 12,2a wirklich das ursprüngliche Ende unserer Schrift sein? Die Fortsetzung in H ist in sich logisch und wirkt nicht wie eine nachträgliche Erfindung. Die Diskrepanz zwischen c. 11 und c. 13 (S. 70) erklärt sich m.E. aus der Entstehungsgeschichte der *Didache*. Auch daß die copt. Lesart von 10,3 älter sein soll als die griechische Version von H, hat mich nicht überzeugt. Indessen, wie immer auch: Die Hypothese von Jefford und Patterson ist ein bemerkenswerter Versuch, das noch immer ungelöste Rätsel des copt. Papyrus zu lösen.

¹⁷ Die fragmenta *Anastasiana* (F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, vol. 2 [Paderborn, 1905], S. 51–71) und die *Sentenzen* des Isaac Syrus (M. Besson,

Wege-Traktat

Barnabas 18–20; Sigel: **Barn**.

Doctrina apostolorum Codex Monacensis 6264 bei: J. Schlecht, *Doctrina XII Apostolorum. Die Apostellehre in der Liturgie der katholischen Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901), S. 101–104 (Lichtdrucktafeln im Anhang); Codex Mellicensis zuletzt bei: K. Niederwimmer, "Doctrina apostolorum (Cod. Mellic. 597)," in H.-C. Schmidt-Lauber (ed.), *Theologia scientia eminens practica, F.S. Zerbst* (Wien, 1979), S. 270–71. Für beide Handschriften Sigel: **Doctr**. (Im Monacensis ist zwischen f, f¹, f² und f³ zu unterscheiden).

Apostolische Kirchenordnung bei: Th. Schermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung*, 1: *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, SGKA.E 3,1 (Paderborn, 1914), S. 12–34; Sigel: **Can**.

Die *Epitome* bei: Th. Schermann, *Eine Elfapostelmoral oder die X-Rezension der "beiden Wege"*, VKHSM 2,2 (München, 1903), S. 16–18; Sigel: **Epit**.

Ps-Athanasius *Syntagma doctrinae* (PG 28,836A–45B) bei: P. Batiffol, "Le Syntagma Doctrinae dit de Saint Athanase," in *Studia Patristica. Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, 2 (Paris, 1890), S. 121–28; Sigel: **Synt. Doctr**.

Fides CCCXVIII patrum (PG 28,1637A–44B) bei: P. Batiffol, "Canones Nicaeni pseudepigraphi," *RAR* 3, ser. 6 (1885), S. 134–41; Sigel: **Fides patr**.

Die arabische *Vita des Schenute* bei: É.C. Amélineau, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, 1885–1886*, 4.1: *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e et V^e siècles*. Cap. 6: "Vie des Schnoudi" (Paris, 1888), S. 289–478 (näherhin 291ff.). Deutsche Übersetzung: L.E. Iselin, *Eine bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Teiles der "Apostellehre"*, gefunden und besprochen von L.E. Iselin, übersetzt von A. Heusler, TU 13,1b (Leipzig, 1895), S. 6–10; Sigel: **Vita Schen**.

"Un recueil des Sentences attribué à Isaac le Syrien," *OrChr* 1 [1901], S. 46–60.288–98) kommen für unsere gegenwärtige Aufgabe nicht in Betracht. Dazu: Niederwimmer (1993), S. 47.

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K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter. Neubearbeitung der Funkschen Ausgabe, unveränderter Nachdruck der mit einem Nachtrag von W. Schneemelcher versehenen*, 2. Auflage (Tübingen, 1970) (Bihlmeyer).

P. Bryennios, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων...* (Konstantinopel, 1883) (Bryennios).

A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*, TU 2,1.2 (Leipzig, 1893) (Harnack).

W. Rordorf und A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè). Introduction, Texte, Traduction, Notes, Appendice et Index*, SC 248 (Paris, 1978) (Rordorf-Tuilier).

G. Schöllgen, "Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre," in G. Schöllgen und W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung*, FC 1 (Freiburg, 1991), S. 23–139 (Schöllgen).

K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet. Eingeleitet, herausgegeben, übertragen und erläutert*, SUC 2 (München, 1984) (Wengst).

M. Dibelius, "Die Mahl-Gebete der Didache," in ders., *Botschaft und Geschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 2: *Zum Urchristentum und zur hellenistischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. H. Kraft und G. Bornkamm (Tübingen, 1956), S. 117–27 (Dibelius).

R. Knopf, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel. Die zwei Clemensbriefe*, HNT.E: *Die apostolischen Väter* 1 (Tübingen, 1920) (Knopf).

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E. Peterson, "MEPIC. Hostienpartikel und Opferanteil," in ders., *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis. Studien und Untersuchungen* (Rom, 1959), S. 97–106 (Peterson, "Meris").

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A. Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache*, PETSE 16 (Stockholm, 1968) (Vööbus).

[Διδαχή τῶν ἀποστόλων]¹

I

DIE TAUFKATECHESE. DER TRAKTAT
ÜBER DIE BEIDEN WEGE

1. *Die Themenformulierung*

TR (1,1) Ὅδοι δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου,
διαφορὰ δὲ πολλή μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν.

2. *Der Lebensweg*

a) Das Grundgebot und Einleitung zur Durchführung

TR (1,2) Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον ἀγαπήσεις
τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς
σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ
ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει.

(3a) Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστὶν αὕτη·

b) *Sectio evangelica*²

SYN (3b) εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν
καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν,
ιηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

¹ Der Titel ist sekundär.

διδαχή τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων
(Kurztitel)

Διδαχή κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα
ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (Langtitel)

τῶν ἀποστόλων (...) διδachaί

Doctrina (...) *apostolorum*

Διδαχή (...) τῶν ἀποστόλων

Διδαχή (...) τῶν ἀποστόλων

Διδαχή ἀποστόλων

Περίοδοι καὶ διδachaί τῶν ἀποστόλων

Διδαχή ἀποστόλων

doctrin(ae) apostolorum

Vgl. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 81–82.

² 1,3b–2,1 gehört nicht zum Traktat, fehlt daher in Barn. Doctr. Epit. Can.

H

Eusebius *HE* 3,25,4 (*GCS* 2,1,252)

Rufin (*GCS* 2,1,253)

Athanasius *EpFest* 39,11 (Preuschen, *Analecta* 2.45)

Didymus oder Ps-Didymus *ComEccI* 78,22 (zu 3,7a)

(ed. Gronewald, *Didymos* 2.70)

Ps-Athanasius *SynScrSac* 76 (*PG* 28,432)

InScrCanSex (Preuschen, *Analecta* 2.69)

Ps-Nicephorus *Stichometrie* (Preuschen, *Analecta* 2.64)

Ps-Cyprian *DeAleat* 4 (*CSEL* 3,3,96).

(3c) ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς;
οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τοῦτο³ ποιοῦσιν;

(3d) ὑμεῖς δὲ φιλεῖτε⁴ τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς
καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν.⁵

(4b) ἐὰν τίς σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα,
στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην,

(D) καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος·

(4c) ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἔν,
ὑπάγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο·

(4d) ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου,
δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα·

(4e) ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν,
μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ δύνασαι.

(5a) παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου
καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει·

(5b-d) πᾶσι γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
χαρισμάτων.

(D) μακάριος ὁ διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῶος γάρ ἐστιν.
οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρεῖαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις,
ἀθῶος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνατί ἔλαβε
καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ᾧ
ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν
ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

D (6) ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὲ εἴρηται·

AT(?) Ἰδρωσάτω⁶ ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις
ἂν γνῶς, τίτι δῶς.⁷

Synt.Doctr. Fides patr. u. Vita Schen. 1,3bff. ist Einfügung des Didachisten
unter Verwendung von "synopt." Material; vgl. oben Anm. 9.

³ τὸ αὐτό H. Bryennios, Harnack, Rordorf-Tuilier, Wengst.
τοῦτο P Const. Bihlmeyer, Audet.

Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 122.
⁴ ἀγαπᾶτε H. Bryennios, Harnack, Rordorf-Tuilier, Wengst.
φιλεῖτε P Const. Bihlmeyer, Audet.
Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 122.

⁵ V. 4a halte ich für eine Glosse. Überliefert ist:
ἀκουε τί σε δεῖ ποιοῦντα σώσαι σοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα. πῶτον πάντων ἀπόσχου
τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν P.

ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν H.
ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν Const.

Der Versuch einer Textgeschichte: Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S.
116-18.

⁶ Ἰδρωτάτω H.
Ἰδρωσάτω *emend.* Bryennios.

⁷ Unde? Sir 12,1 in alia translatione? Vgl. Hugo von St. Cher, Tom. 3
(Venetiis, 1600), S. 194, und die Erörterungen bei Audet, S. 276-80; P.Wm.

D (2,1) Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς·

c) Eine Verbotsreihe

- TR (2,2) οὐ φονεύσεις,
 οὐ μοιχεύσεις,
 οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις,
 οὐ κλέψεις,
 οὐ μαγεύσεις,
 οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ,
 οὐδὲ γεννηθέν⁸ ἀποκτενεῖς,
 (3) οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον,
 οὐκ ἐπιорκήσεις,
 οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις.
 (4) οὐκ ἔση διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος
 (παγίς γὰρ θανάτου ἢ διγλωσσία).
 (5) οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου κενός, οὐ ψευδής,⁹
 (6) οὐκ ἔση πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἄρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς οὐδὲ
 κακοήθης οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. οὐ λήψη βουλήν ποιηρὰν κατὰ
 τοῦ πλησίον σου.
 (7) οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις,
 περὶ ὧν δέ¹⁰ προσεύξῃ, οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχὴν
 σου.

d) Die Teknon-Sprüche

- TR (3,1) Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς ποιηροῦ¹¹ καὶ
 ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.
 (2) μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος,

Skehan, "Didache 1,6 and Sirach 12,1," *Bibl* 44 (1963), S. 533–36.

⁸ γεννηθέντα H.

γεννηθέν Barn. Can. Const. *natum* Doctr. Edd.

⁹ ψευδὴς οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει H. Bryennios, Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Audet, Rordorf-Tuilier.

κενός οὐδὲ ψευδής Can. Wengst.

vacuum nec mendax Doctr.

κενός Epit.

κενός. Περὶ παντὸς γὰρ λόγου ἄργου δώσετε λόγον." Οὐ ψεύσῃ. . . . Const.

Daraus folgt: ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει ist spätere Glosse; so schon vermutet bei Schlecht (1901), S. 48; Knopf, S. 12.

Ich konjiziere im übrigen κενός, οὐ ψευδής. Niederwimmer, "Text-probleme," S. 118–19; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 120–21.

¹⁰ περὶ δὲ ὧν H. Bryennios, Harnack, Audet.

περὶ ὧν δέ P Can. Epit. Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-Tuilier, Wengst.

¹¹ ἀπὸ παντὸς ποιηροῦ H. Can. Edd.

ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος ποιηροῦ P.

ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ Epit. Const.

ab homine malo Doctr.

ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ¹² ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν φόνον,
μηδὲ ζηλωτῆς μηδὲ ἐριστικός μηδὲ θυμικός·
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται.

(3) τέκνον μου,
μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής,
ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν,
μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ ὑψηλόφθαλμος·
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων μοιχεῖται γεννῶνται.

(4) τέκνον μου,
μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος,
ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν,
μηδὲ ἐπαιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικός μηδὲ περικαθαίρων,
μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν μηδὲ ἀκούειν.¹³
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων εἰδωλολατρία γεννᾶται.

(5) τέκνον μου,
μὴ γίνου ψεύστης,
ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψεῦσμα εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν,
μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος·
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται.

(6) τέκνον μου,
μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος,
ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν,
μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ ποιηρόφρων·
ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται.

e) Die Anawim-Sprüche

TR (3,7) Ἰσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. (8) γίνου μακρόθυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. (9) οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ σου μετὰ ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων

Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 122–23.

¹² ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ H. Can. Epit. Edd.
ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ P.

Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 123.

¹³ μηδὲ ἀκούειν *om.* H. Bryennios, Harnack.
μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ ἰδεῖν μηδὲ ἀκούειν Can.
μήτε θέλε αὐτὰ εἰδέναι μηδὲ ἀκούειν Epit.
nec uelis ea uidere nec audire Doctr.
μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν <μηδὲ ἀκούειν> *conj.* Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-Tuilier.
μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν μηδὲ ἀκούειν *conj.* Audet, Wengst.
Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 123.

καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστροφῇ. (10) τὰ συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδώς, ὅτι ἄτερ θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

f) Regeln, die das soziale Leben betreffen

TR (4,1) Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ κύριός ἐστιν. (2) ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαῖς τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.

(3) οὐ ποιήσεις¹⁴ σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως, οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. (4) οὐ διψυχῇσεις, πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὐ.

(5) μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν.

(6) ἐὰν ἔχῃς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου, δώσεις λύτρωσιν¹⁵ ἁμαρτιῶν σου. (7) οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γάρ, τίς ἐστιν ὁ¹⁶ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης. (8) οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε, πόσω μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς;

(9) οὐκ ἄρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ.

(10) οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσκη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. (11) ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ¹⁷ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν¹⁸ ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ.

¹⁴ ποθήσεις H. Bryennios.
ποιήσεις Barn. Can. Epit. Const. Harnack, *et sequ. edd.*
facies Doctr.

¹⁵ δώσεις λύτρωσιν H. Can. Edd.

δὸς εἰς ἄφεσιν Epit.

δός, ἵνα ἐργάσῃ εἰς λύτρωσιν Const.

δώσεις <εἰς> λύτρωσιν (*homoiot.*) conj. H. Lietzmann, *Die Didache* (Berlin, 1962), S. 7.

Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 139 Anm. 49.

δὸς εἰς λύτρωσιν Audet.

¹⁶ ἢ H.

ὁ *emend.* Bryennios.

¹⁷ Der Artikel fehlt nicht in H. Gegen Bryennios.

¹⁸ ἡμῶν H.

g) Epilog des "Lebensweges"

- TR (4,12) Μισήσεις πάσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν τῷ κυρίῳ. (13) οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεὶς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν.
- (D)? (14) ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ¹⁹ ἐξομολογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

3. Der Todesweg

a) Einleitung

- TR (5,1a) Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς ἐστὶν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων πονηρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ κατάρas μεστή·

b) Lasterkatalog

- TR (5,1b) φόνοι,
μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορνεῖαι,
κλοπαί,
εἰδωλοατρίαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι,
ἀρπαγαί,
ψευδομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος,
ὑπερηφανία,
κακία,
αὐθάδεια,
πλεονεξία,
αἰσχρολογία,
ζηλοτυπία,
θρασύτης, ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία, ἀφοβία.²⁰
- (2) διώκεται ἀγαθῶν,
μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν,
ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦδος,
οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης,
οὐ κολλῶμενοι ἀγαθῷ οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ,

ὑμῶν Const. *emend.* Bryennios.
uestris Doctr.

¹⁹ Wohl Zusatz des Didachisten. Harnack, S. 17.
Vgl. Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 145 Anm. 14.

²⁰ ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία H. Bryennios, Harnack.
... ἀφοβία θεοῦ (ἀφοβία Sin*) Barn.
uanitas. deum (deum inseruit f² supra lineam) non timentes Doctr.
ὑψηλοφροσύνη, ἀλαζονεία, ἀφοβία Const.
ὕψος, ἀλαζονεία, <ἀφοβία> Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-Tuilier.

ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πονηρόν·
 ὦν μακράν πραύτης καὶ ὑπομονή,
 μάταια ἀγαπῶντες,
 διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα,
 οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν,
 οὐ ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ καταπονουμένῳ,
 οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς,
 φονεῖς τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος θεοῦ,
 ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον,
 καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον,
 πλουσίων παράκλητοι,
 πεινήτων ἄνομοι κριταί,
 πανθαμάρτητοι·

c) Schlußmahnung

TR (5,2 fin.) ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων ἀπάντων.

4. *Epilog und Anhang*

TR (6,1) Ὁρα, μή τίς σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς, ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς θεοῦ σε διδάσκει.²¹

D (2) εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει. (3) περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

ὑψος, ἀλαζονεία, ἀφοβία <θεοῦ> Audet.

ὑψος, ἀλαζονεία, οὐ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν *conj.* Wengst.

Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 123; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 149

u. Anm. 14.

²¹ Das folgende (6,2f.) hat keine Parallele mehr im Traktat (Barn. Doctr. Can. Epit. Vita Schen. Synt. Doctr. Fides patr.). Die Rezension des Traktats, von der *Didache* und *Doctrina* abhängig sind, bot 6,1. Der Didachist hat das folgende, den Rest des Epilogs, weggebrochen und durch 6,2f. ersetzt. Der ganze Epilog lautet in *Doctrina*:

(5,2 fin.) *Abstine te, fili, ab istis omnibus.*

(6,1) *Et uide, ne quis te ab hac doctrina auocet,
et si minus extra disciplinam doceberis.*

(6,4) *Haec in consulendo si cottidie feceris,
prope eris uiuo deo;
quod si non feceris,
longe eris a ueritate.*

(6,5) *Haec omnia tibi in animo pone
et non deceperis de spe tua,
sed per haec sancta certamina
peruenies ad coronam.*

II DIE AGENDE

1. *Über die Taufe*

AG (7,1) Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·

(D) ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.

D (2) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ. (3) ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρεῖς ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

AG (4) πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται·

D κελεύεις²² δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

1a. *Über Fasten und Beten*

a) *Über das rechte Fasten*

AG (8,1) Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖται ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρῃ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.

b) *Über das rechte Beten*

AG (8,2) Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ'

(D) ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύχεσθε·

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ,

ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου,

ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου,

γενηθήτω²³ τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς·

τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον,

καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν,

ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν,

So oder so ähnlich hat der ursprüngliche Epilog des Traktats in der von mir sogenannten Rezension C1 (dazu Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 63) gelaute. Er hat in *Doctrina* später einen christlichen Zusatz (*epilogus secundus*) erhalten. Zum ganzen: Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 152–53.

²² κελεύεις H. Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Audet, Rordorf-Tuilier.
κελεύσεις *emend.* Bryennios, Wengst.

²³ γεννηθήτω H.
γεννηθήτω *emend.* Bryennios.

καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ·
ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
(3) τρίς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

2. Über die Mahlfeier

a) Gebete zum Sättigungsmahl

AG (9,1) Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·

(2) πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου·

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

(3) Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἄρτου²⁴

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν,
ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως,
ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

(4) ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον²⁵ ἐπάνω τῶν ὁρέων
καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν,
οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν·
ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις
διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

D (5) Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας
ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ
τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος·

SYN Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

b) Dankgebet

AG (10,1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε·

(2) Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε,

²⁴ κλάσματος H. Bryennios, Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Audet, Rordorf-Tuilier.
ἄρτου *conj.* Peterson, "Meris," S. 99–100; Peterson, "Probleme," S. 168–
69; Vööbus, S. 88–89.146–48; Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 124–25;
Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 185–86; Wengst, S. 78.97–98.

²⁵ τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον H. Bryennios.

τοῦτο <τὸ> κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον *emend.* Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-
Tuilier.

τοῦτο διεσκορπισμένον *conj.* Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 125;
Wengst.

Cf. Const. 7,25,3.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου,
 οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν,²⁶
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας,
 ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
 σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 (3) σύ, δέσποτα, παντοκράτωρ,
 ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου,
 τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν,
 ἵνα σοὶ εὐχαριστήσωσιν,
 ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν
 αἰώνιον
 διὰ Ἰησοῦ²⁷ τοῦ παιδός σου.
 (4) περὶ²⁸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ·
 σοὶ²⁹ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 (5) μνήσθητι, κύριε,
 τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου
 τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ
 καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου,
 καὶ σὺναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων³⁰
 εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ·
 ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 (6) ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.
 Ὡσαννὰ³¹ τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ.³²

²⁶ ὑμῶν H.

ἡμῶν *emend.* Bryennios.

²⁷ διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου H. Bryennios, Harnack, Bihlmeyer (aber cf. S. xix).

διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου Copt. (cf. 9,2 u. 10,2) Audet, Wengst.

διὰ <Ἰησοῦ> τοῦ παιδός σου Rordorf-Tuilier.

²⁸ πρὸ πάντων H. Bryennios, Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Audet, Rordorf-Tuilier.
 περὶ πάντων Copt. Dibelius, S. 124; Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme,"
 S. 125–26; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 198 u. Anm. 46; Wengst.

²⁹ σοὶ H.

σοὶ *emend.* Bryennios (bestätigt von Copt.); Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme,"
 S. 126.

σύ· σοὶ *emend.* Harnack.

³⁰ τὴν ἁγιασθεῖσαν *add.* H. Bryennios, Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Audet, Rordorf-Tuilier.

om. Copt. Const. Vööbus, S. 93; Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 119; Wengst.

³¹ ὥς ἀννά H. *emend.* Bryennios.

³² τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ H. Harnack, Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-Tuilier, Wengst.

τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυίδ Copt. Audet.

τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ Const. Bryennios.

τῷ θεῷ οἴκου Δαυίδ *conj.* Dibelius, S. 126 Anm. 10.

εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω·
 εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω·
 μαρναθά· ἀμήν.

D (7) τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν, ὅσα θέλουσιν.³³

III

DIE KIRCHENORDNUNG

1. Überleitung

D (11,1) "Ὁς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· (2) ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτόν ὡς κύριον.

2. Über die Aufnahme von Wanderaposteln und Wanderpropheten

a) Einleitung

D (11,3) Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε.

b) Über die Wanderapostel

PER (11,4) Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος.³⁴

(5) οὐ μενεῖ δὲ εἰ μὴ³⁵ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ᾖ χρεῖα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν. (6) ἐξερχόμενος

³³ Hier folgt in Copt. das berühmte "Myron-Gebet" (om. H. u. Georg.): "Wegen des Wortes aber des Salböls (?) danket also, indem ihr sagt: Wir danken dir, Vater, wegen des Salböls (?), das du kundgetan hast durch Jesus, deinen Sohn. Dein ist <der> Ruhm in Ewigkeit. Amen"; übers. nach C. Schmidt, "Das koptische Didache-Fragment des British Museum," *ZNW* 24 (1925), S. 85.87. Vgl. Const. 7,27,1–2. Von einander abweichende Rekonstruktionen des vorausgesetzten ursprünglich griechischen Wortlauts bei Bihlmeyer, S. xx; Peterson, "Probleme," S. 157; u. Wengst, S. 59 (mit Vor-sicht). Ich halte das Gebet für einen späteren Zusatz: Niederwimmer, "Text-probleme," S. 119–21; Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 205–209. Vgl. jetzt Schöllgen, S. 55: daß das Gebet ursprünglich zur *Didache* gehört habe, kann "nicht als sicher gelten."

³⁴ δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος H. Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 127.

om. Copt. (fort.) Eth. Const. Bihlmeyer, S. xix (der auch das folgende δὲ streicht). Aber der kleine Satz ist sachlich unentbehrlich.

³⁵ εἰ μὴ om. H. Bryennios.

εἰ μὴ conj. Harnack, Audet, Wengst.

δὲ ο ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰ μὴ ἄρτον, ἕως οὗ αὐλισθῇ·
ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

c) Über die Wanderpropheten

PER (11,7) Καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ
πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται,
αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. (8) οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν
πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχη τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου.
ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ
προφήτης. (9) καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὀρίζων³⁶ τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι,
οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. (10)
πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἂ διδάσκει οὐ
ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί.

D (11) πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς
μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν, ὅσα
αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει
τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφήται.³⁷

PER (12) ὅς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι· δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἑτερά
τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων
εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

3. Über die Aufnahme anderer zureisender Brüder

a) Aufnahme und Prüfung der Zuwandernden

D (12,1) Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς³⁸ ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου³⁹
δεχθήτω· ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε, σύνεσιν
γὰρ ἔξετε⁴⁰ δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν.

<εἰ μή> Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-Tuilier.

³⁶ ὁ ῥίζων H.

ὀρίζων *emend.* Bryennios.

³⁷ Ich halte jetzt den ganzen Vers für redaktionelle Zufügung des Didachisten;
vgl. schon die Vermutung, Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 70.

³⁸ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι H. Bryennios, Harnack, zuletzt wieder Rordorf-
Tuilier u. Wengst.

ὁ ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ὀνόματι Copt. Eth. Georg. Bihlmeyer S.
xix; Audet.

Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 127: Ausfall in H durch *Homoioteleuton*?

³⁹ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου ist Bibelsprache (Ps 118,26; vgl. Mk
11,9; Mt 21,9; Lk 19,38; Jn 12,13; Mt 23,39/Lk 13,35 [Q]). Vgl. noch 1
Sam 17,45 und Jn 5,43. Ich halte die Wendung in der *Didache* nicht für ein
bewußtes Zitat einer bestimmten Stelle.

⁴⁰ ἔξετε H.

ἔξετε *emend.* Bryennios, Bihlmeyer, Rordorf-Tuilier.

ἔχετε Copt. Eth. Const. Audet, Wengst.

b) Der Durchreisende

D (12,2) εἰ μὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ, ὅσον δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ᾖ ἀνάγκη.

c) Der Neuankömmling, der sich niederlassen will

D (12,3) εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσθαι, τεχνίτης ὢν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω. (4) εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μεθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται Χριστιανός. (5) εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

4. Über die Unterhaltspflicht gegenüber Propheten,
die sich in der Gemeinde niederlassen wollen,
und gegenüber Lehrern

a) Grundsätzliches

D (SYN) (13,1) Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. (2) ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ.

b) Durchführungsbestimmungen

D (13,3) Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων⁴¹ ληνοῦ καὶ ἄλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς ὑμῶν.⁴² (5) ἐὰν σιτίαν⁴³ ποιῇς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. (6) ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς τοῖς προφήταις· (7) ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

5. Über Beichte und Versöhnung

D (14,1) Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε, προεξομολογησάμενοι⁴⁴ τὰ παραπτώματα

⁴¹ γεννημάτων H.

γεννημάτων *emend.* Bryennios.

⁴² ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, δότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς *add.* H (= V. 4). Eth. Vgl. Const. 7,29,2.

Vermutlich spätere Glosse: Audet; Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme," S. 121.

⁴³ σιτίαν H.

ἄρτοι θερμοί (ἄρτων θερμῶν) Const.

"Brot" Eth.

σιτία (*sic!*)? Erwogen in: Niederwimmer, *Didache*, S. 233 Anm. 17.

⁴⁴ προεξομολογησάμενοι H. Bryennios, (Harnack), Rordorf-Tuillier, Wengst.

ὑμῶν, ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν⁴⁵ ᾗ. (2) πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἐταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθῆτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὗ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν. (3) αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ κυρίου·

AT Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαρὰν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.⁴⁶

6. Über die Wahl von Bischöfen und Diakonen

D (15,1) Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου, ἀνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. (2) μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

7. Über die Kirchenzucht

D (15,3) Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὗ μετανοήσῃ. (4) τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

IV

ESCHATOLOGISCHER ABSCHLUSS

1. Eschatologische Paränese

D? (16,1) Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν.⁴⁷

SYN οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν,
καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν,
ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε ἔτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.

προεξομολογησάμενοι *emend.* (Harnack), Bihlmeyer, Audet.

⁴⁵ ἡμῶν H.

ὑμῶν *emend.* Bryennios.

⁴⁶ Mal 1,11b.14b LXX.

⁴⁷ ἡμῶν H.

ὑμῶν *emend.* Bryennios.

(D unde?) (2) πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῇτε.

2. Die Apokalypse

a) Das Auftreten von Pseudopropheten und der Zerfall der christlichen Gemeinschaft

APC (16,3) Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς, καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λίκους, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς μῖσος· (4a) αὔξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσιν καὶ παραδώσουσι·

b) Das Auftreten des Antichrists

APC (16,4b) καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς⁴⁸ ὡς υἱὸς θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ αἰῶνος.

c) Der große Abfall und die Bewahrung der Getreuen

APC (16,5) τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας, καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολούνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

d) Die Offenbarung der drei Zeichen der Wahrheit

APC (16,6) καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἴτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν.

(D) AT (7) οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἦξει ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ.⁴⁹

e) Die Ankunft des Kyrios

APC (16,8) τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . .⁵⁰

⁴⁸ κοσμοπλανῆς H (*Hapax*). Bihlmeyer, Audet, Rordorf-Tuilier.
κοσμοπλάνος Const. *emend.* Bryennios, Harnack, Wengst. Vgl. Const.
7,32,4: κατακρίναι τὸν κοσμοπλάνον διάβολον.

⁴⁹ Sach 14,5 LXX.

⁵⁰ An dieser Stelle bricht H ab. Der Abschluß des Buches ist verloren.

THE TEXT OF THE *DIDACHE*:
SOME COMMENTS ON THE EDITION OF KLAUS WENGST

BOUDEWIJN DEHANDSCHUTTER

Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Leuven, België

After the publication of the text of the *Didache* by Patriarch Philotheos Bryennios according to the famous Codex Hierosolymitanus 54 (H), editors continuously had to face the problem of the real value of the text of the codex, which dates from 1056. In the course of time the initial optimism of Adolf von Harnack and others¹ about H became, if not abandoned, at the least thoroughly reduced, especially after other witnesses to the text of the *Didache* became known. It will do to refer here to the contributions of Erik Peterson or Jean-Paul Audet during the fifties.² Years earlier Karl Bihlmeyer published his re-edition of Francis Xavier Funk's *editio minor* of the Apostolic Fathers, which was to become a "classic" as far as the publication of the texts of the Apostolic Fathers is concerned.³ Bihlmeyer showed some important reservations with regard to the text of the *Didache*, which are hidden, however, in a long addition to the introduction.⁴ The German church historian was able to refer at the last moment ("... als der Text der Did. in dieser Ausgabe bereits gedruckt war...") to G. Horner's edition of the Coptic fragment, and to comment on the convergence of the latter with the Ethiopic version and the text of

¹ A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 13: "In vortrefflicher Überlieferung liegt in der Constantinopolitanischen Handschrift die alte Urkunde vor. . . ." For recent surveys of the problems that are connected with the *Didache*, see F.E. Vokes, "Life and Order in an Early Church: the *Didache*," *ANRW* 27 (1993), pp. 209-33; B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis* (Berlin, 1992), pp. 10-27.

² E. Peterson, "Ueber einige Probleme der *Didache*-Ueberlieferung," in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome, 1959), pp. 146-82; J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), p. 78: "Le texte du Hier., 54 n'est pas excellent, il n'est même pas très bon. . . . Il ne mérite . . . aucun des grands éloges qui lui ont été discernés autrefois. . . ."

³ K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen, 1924). With respect to the text of the *Didache*, the volume contains very few corrections when compared with the text of F.X. Funk (cf. p. xviii). The *editio minor* of Funk offers, with the exception of a few details, the same text as F.X. Funk, *Patres apostolici*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1901), pp. 2-37.

⁴ Bihlmeyer (1924), pp. xviii-xx.

Apostolic Constitutions 7. In further *Nachträge*⁵ Bihlmeyer offered his final remarks on some considerations which were made by the well-known Egyptologist Carl Schmidt. None of this touched the edition of the text as such, which remained unchanged through the second edition by Wilhelm Schneemelcher in 1956. In his *Nachträge* Schneemelcher only recommends that each scholar confront all versions and witnesses before any decision is made about the *Urtext* (original text) of the *Didache*.⁶ In such a way Bihlmeyer's remarks, as for example, his strong plea in favor of the authenticity of the *myron* prayer (*Did* 10.8), often remained unnoticed.⁷

In more recent times Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier have defended the value of H in their precious edition in the "Sources chrétiennes" series.⁸ After a long demonstration they set forth the conclusion that the text of H has not undergone a critical revision, unlike what may have been the case for other early Christian texts that are contained in the manuscript, and that H offers a very ancient recension, one that is known by the earliest patristic witnesses. In his edition of 1984, Klaus Wengst could not share that optimism:

Diese Hochschätzung ist aber kaum gerechtfertigt. Wo der textkritische Vergleich durchgeführt werden kann, zeigt sich oft genug aufgrund innerer Kriterien, dass H den schlechteren Text bietet, so dass eine gewisse Skepsis durchaus angebracht erscheint.⁹

As a matter of fact, Wengst introduces about fifty changes in comparison with the text of Bihlmeyer, whose edition might be considered to be the *textus receptus* as based upon H.¹⁰

⁵ Bihlmeyer (1924), pp. v–vi.

⁶ K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen, 1970), p. lii (2d ed., 1956). A Greek-German edition has been published by A. Lindemann and H. Paulsen, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen, 1992). It includes the edition of the *Pastor Hermas* by M. Whittaker.

⁷ Bihlmeyer (1924), p. xx.

⁸ W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 102–10.

⁹ K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), p. 6.

¹⁰ The textual editions that arise before that of Wengst reveal only very few differences. This is even the case for the text of Audet, who so much wants to stress the other textual testimonies, especially the Coptic version; cf. Audet (1958), p. 78. It is difficult to follow the statement of Georg Schöllgen on "die starken Abweichungen der gängigen Didache-Editionen"; so Schöllgen, "Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre," in G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991). Though one can agree with Philip Vielhauer that "vor allem haben Textfunde das Vertrauen in den von Bryennios edierten Text

In a further consideration of the text by Wengst, we must reckon with two recent publications, the voluminous commentary on the *Didache* by Kurt Niederwimmer and the edition by Georg Schöllgen.¹¹ Niederwimmer is less radical than Wengst in his judgment, but does not neglect the need for a series of corrections to H. The simple comparison with POxy 1782 is enough to cast some doubt upon the text of H. On the other hand, Niederwimmer warns against too much confidence in the possibilities that are offered by the *Apostolic Constitutions* as a means by which to correct the readings in H.¹² Schöllgen follows closely the opinion of Niederwimmer that there must already have been several recensions around the fourth or fifth century. The text of H represents only one of them, but that one is the most complete and can be taken, with the necessary corrections, as the basis of an *editio minor*. As a consequence, Schöllgen follows the text of Rordorf and Tuilier. He too criticizes any position that assigns much weight to the readings of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and decidedly rejects the construction of a *Mischtext* (mixed text). The best solution would be an *editio maior* in which it would be possible to offer a synopsis of the different recensions.¹³

If we are to summarize the views that have been presented above, it is not difficult to observe that among recent editors, Wengst occupies a particular position which is embodied within the text that he offers. In the following section I will try to comment briefly on the proposals by Wengst, with a full recognition of the fact that much must remain undecided.

Wengst confronts his readers with three obvious changes: 1) the omission of the *interpolatio evangelica* (1.3b–2.1); 2) the addition of the *myron* prayer in 10.8; and 3) the addition at the end of 16.8. Before a discussion of these major changes, I shall consider the other particularities in the text of Wengst, comparing them with the text of Bihlmeyer:¹⁴

erschüttert," the result of this barely surfaces in the editions of the *Didache*, so Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1975), p. 720.

¹¹ K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 35–36; Schöllgen (1991).

¹² Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 46–47.

¹³ Schöllgen (1991), pp. 93–94. As such Schöllgen seems to follow a trend in contemporary editorship which refrains from the idea that it would be possible to arrive at the utmost, ancient level of transmission for any particular text.

¹⁴ In the following presentation I omit some differences which pertain to editorial presentation or small changes in the use of the conjunction *kal*.

WENGST

BIHLMMEYER

1.2	καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ θέλεις γενέσθαι σοι καὶ σὺ ἄλλω οὐ ποιήσεις	πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσης μὴ γίνεσθαί σοι καὶ σὺ ἄλλω μὴ ποίει
2.4	δίγνωμος	διγνώμων
2.5	κενὸς οὐδὲ ψευδῆς <i>om.</i>	ψευδῆς, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει
3.2	θυμώδης	θυμικός
3.4	εἰδωλατρεῖαι γεννῶνται	εἰδωλατρία γεννᾶται
3.5	ἐπὶ τὴν κλοπὴν	εἰς τὴν κλοπὴν
3.6	τέκνον ἄγει πρὸς	τέκνον μου ὁδηγεῖ εἰς
3.8	λόγους	λόγους διὰ παντός
4.1	ὥς τὸν κύριον	ὥς κύριον
4.2	τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπαναπαύση	τὰ πρόσωπα ἐπαναπαῆς
4.3	σχίσματα παραπτώματα	σχίσμα παραπτώμασιν
4.5	τὴν χεῖρα	τὰς χεῖρας
4.8	ἐνδεόμενον <i>in fine</i> πᾶσιν γὰρ θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων	τὸν ἐνδεόμενον <i>om.</i>
4.9	αὐτοὺς	<i>om.</i>
4.12	τῷ θεῷ οὐ ποιήσεις	τῷ κυρίῳ <i>om.</i>
5.1	<i>om.</i> οὐ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν	<ἀφοβία> <i>om.</i>
7.4	ιηστευσάτω	προνηστευσάτω
9.3	ἄρτου ζωῆς	κλάσματος ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως
9.4	<i>om.</i> εἷς ἄρτος	<τὸ> κλάσμα ἓν
10.3	<i>om.</i> διὰ Ἰησοῦ	διὰ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν <i>om.</i> Ἰησοῦ
10.4	περί	πρό
10.5	<i>om.</i>	τὴν ἀγιασθεῖσαν
11.4	<i>om.</i>	δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος
11.6	λαμβάνη	αἰτῇ
11.8	γνώσεσθε τὸν προφήτην εἰ ἀληθινὸς ἐστίν	γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης
11.12	ἄλλου	ἄλλων ὑστερούντων
12.1	ἔχετε	ἔξετε
12.4	μένει	ζήσεται χριστιανός
13.4	τῷ πτωχῷ	τοῖς πτωχοῖς

16.3	<i>om.</i>	στραφήσεται
16.4	κοσμοπλάνος	κοσμοπλανής

1.2 In the formulation of the “Golden Rule,” Wengst follows more closely the text of the *Constitutions*. Because of the variety in the formulation of the “Golden Rule,” it is almost impossible to decide either against or in favor of the text of H.

2.4 Wengst seemingly is not impressed by the argument about the rarity of διγνώμων. He prefers a concordance of the *Constitutions*, the *Apostolic Church Order*, and the *Epitome*.¹⁵

2.5 It must be said that the argument of Wengst is more convincing. The reading in H implies an addition (ἀλλά κτλ.) which caused the reversed order of κενός and ψευδής.¹⁶ Though Niederwimmer considers the text to be uncertain, he arrives at the same solution as Wengst.¹⁷

3.2 Wengst follows the *Apostolic Church Order* (here against the *Constitutions*),¹⁸ as is the case also in 3.4, 5, 6, 8 (but see the pertinent discussion in Niederwimmer).¹⁹

4.1 Reading with the *Constitutions*; 4.2, *Constitutions* (τὸ προσωπὸν) and *Canons* (ἐπαναπαύση); 4.3, both the *Constitutions* and *Canons*; 4.5, *Constitutions* (and *Doctrina*); 4.8, τὸν = *Constitutions*, *Canons*, *Epitome*.²⁰

4.8 In this important case Wengst moves the phrase πᾶσιν κτλ. from 1.5 to its present position in the Latin version. His argument is convincing—it is easier to understand the omission in view of the *interpolatio evangelica* (1.3–2.1) than it is to consider the phrase as a later addition. Why should the *Doctrina* have added this one phrase and not also its context?²¹ Niederwimmer chooses to resort to a *Vorlage* that is common to the *Doctrina* and to the Didachist in order to explain the presence of the phrase.²² Of course, everything depends upon the status that is given to the interpolation, that is, whether it should be considered as early.²³

¹⁵ But see Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 150 n. 4.

¹⁶ Wengst (1984), p. 69 n. 12.

¹⁷ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 120–21; cf. Schöllgen (1991), p. 105 n. 34.

¹⁸ Cf. Niederwimmer (1989), p. 127 n. 23.

¹⁹ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 30, 132 n. 11.

²⁰ Cf. Niederwimmer (1989), p. 140 n. 57.

²¹ Wengst (1984), p. 95 n. 38.

²² Niederwimmer (1989), p. 190 n. 93.

²³ With respect to the problems that are connected with the date of the interpolation, see Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 93–100; recently Helmut Koester (*Ancient Christian Gospels* [London, 1990], p. 17) points to the *late* date of the interpolation, following

4.9 Niederwimmer considers the addition as *schwerlich richtig* (hardly appropriate).²⁴

4.12 The choice of τῷ θεῷ by Wengst is determined by the *Doctrina*, though *Barnabas* and the *Constitutions* also seem to support the reading. Since the variation θεῷ-κυρίου (4.13) makes sense, it might be preferable to follow him.

5.1 The text of Wengst is a conjecture that is based mainly on the *Doctrina* for the verb. The object τὸν θεόν should be derived from the analogy with 5.2 (cf. Bihlmeyer, *app. crit.*). The many differences in the *Doctrina* are a warning, however. Rordorf and Tuilier, as well as Schöllgen, maintain ἀφοβία on the strength of the other versions, though any word of that kind is lacking in H.²⁵

7.4 The reading in the *Constitutions* is preferred instead of the rare προνηστευσάτω.²⁶

9.3–4 An important change in the eucharist prayer is introduced. Wengst follows Peterson in part with his consideration of κλάσμα as secondary and his preference for ἄρτος.²⁷ This means a reformulation of the prayer in which καὶ γνώσεως is dropped (= *Constitutions*), as well as the phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (9.4),²⁸ here again at the suggestion of Peterson. Niederwimmer fundamentally agrees (with some qualifications),²⁹ though Schöllgen does not.³⁰ Peterson's insight, which is paralleled by Vööbus, saps any confidence in H, however.³¹

10.3 The omission follows the *Constitutions* and the Coptic version. The addition of Ἰησοῦ is generally recognized (also by Rordorf and Tuilier, who emend H).³² It is indeed difficult to ignore that the prayers of chapters 9–10 expose a παῖς Christology.

B. Layton, "The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b–2.2," *HThR* 61 (1968), pp. 343–83. Koester changes his mind in comparison with his earlier view; cf. H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 217–20. Cf. Schöllgen (1991), pp. 31–36.

²⁴ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 142 n. 73, whereas it is supported by Audet (1958), p. 230.

²⁵ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 167 n. 6; Schöllgen (1991), p. 115 n. 23.

²⁶ Cf. Niederwimmer (1989), p. 164.

²⁷ Peterson (1959), pp. 168–71.

²⁸ Cf. Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 177 n. 9.

²⁹ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 185–88.

³⁰ Schöllgen (1991), p. 121 n. 102.

³¹ An extensive treatment of the question of the prayers is given by A. Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache* (Stockholm, 1968).

³² See Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 191 n. 2; cf. Niederwimmer (1989), p. 197 n. 37.

10.4 The *περί* of the Coptic text is becoming more favored, though not by Schöllgen.³³

10.5 Again, Wengst is led by the Coptic. Niederwimmer is sure that it is a later gloss.³⁴ Rordorf and Tuilier only note the absence of the words in the Coptic and the *Constitutions*.³⁵

11.4 Wengst follows the Coptic and Ethiopic versions, but Niederwimmer disagrees.³⁶ The influence of 11.2 could explain the reading in H.

11.6 The reading of the Coptic that is accepted by Wengst is more in parallel with the preceding λαμβανέτω.

11.8 Wengst remains impressed by the Coptic and by the Ethiopic for 11.12.

12.1 The reading *ἐχέτε* corresponds with the *Constitutions*, the Coptic, and the Ethiopic. It was preferred already by Bihlmeyer.³⁷

12.4 The choice of Wengst finds support in the "comments" of Rordorf and Tuilier (though not in their text).³⁸ Niederwimmer, however, rejects the hesitations about the reading of H.³⁹

13.4 The singular form is suggested by the *Constitutions* and the Ethiopic.

16.3 The omission is suggested by the *Constitutions*.

16.4 The preference of Wengst follows a widely accepted correction, but for the recent editors the *hapax* κοσμοπλανήης is more convincing.⁴⁰

The readings of Wengst can be divided into three categories:

1) The cases where his choice is supported by others—2.5; 9.3–4; 10.3, 4, 5; 12.1, 4. They certainly deserve consideration.

2) The cases where Wengst is led by the *Doctrina*—4.8, 12; 5.1. All of these offer serious alternatives.⁴¹

³³ Cf. Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 191 n. 3; Niederwimmer (1989), p. 198; but also already Peterson (1959), pp. 171–72.

³⁴ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 199 n. 52, and 201. For the problem of the glosses in the text, see K. Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme der Didache," *WSj NF* 16 (1982), pp. 114–30; Peterson (1959), *passim*; also Vielhauer (1975), pp. 733–34.

³⁵ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 196 n. 6.

³⁶ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 216 n. 8; cf. Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 185 n. 5.

³⁷ Bihlmeyer (1924), p. xix.

³⁸ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 189 n. 7.

³⁹ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 226 n. 11.

⁴⁰ Cf. Niederwimmer (1989), p. 263 n. 3; Schöllgen (1991), p. 137 n. 164; Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 196 n. 3.

⁴¹ This is certainly the case for 5.1 where the embarrassment of the editors is complete; cf. Niederwimmer (1989), p. 149.

3) The readings that are based upon the *Constitutions*, *Canons*, and the Coptic (chapters 10–12) and Ethiopic versions, actually upon the concordance of these testimonies. These possibilities are more delicate, but cannot be dismissed. Wengst is critical himself. A most obvious example occurs at 12.1 with $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma \ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. He does not accept the words, though Bihlmeyer was in favor of them, as is Niederwimmer more recently.⁴² But it may be argued that the text without $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma \ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, which is closer to the biblical reminiscence, has been expanded due to the influence of 11.4.

The readings of the third category are conceived as an alternative to the readings of H, which they precede in time. Certainly a concordance between (some of) them cannot be neglected. If one argues from the perspective that they represent only recensions, one should explain as well why one would prefer H, which also belongs to a recension.⁴³

All of this becomes more precarious when we turn to the three major changes in the text of Wengst. As to 16.8, little needs to be added. It is evident that H is deficient, even more than is visible from the manuscript itself. If we are to trust the *Constitutions*, there may have been an even longer discussion on the fate of the good and the evil. Wengst offers only a cautious solution.⁴⁴

The *myron* prayer is another point, certainly after Niederwimmer's lengthy argument against its originality.⁴⁵ Wengst finally is cautious as well. There remains a *possibility* "dass das Gebet über dem Salböl ursprünglicher Did-Text ist." Its omission in H cannot be decisive, "... zumal bei H am Schluss eine weitere Auslassung wahrscheinlich

⁴² Niederwimmer (1989), p. 223 n. 1; Bihlmeyer (1924), p. xix.

⁴³ It is preferable to speak as does Vielhauer ([1975], p. 734) about "Einwirkungen der Theologiegeschichte auf den Did-Text" instead of "recensions." The latter implies a better knowledge of complete forms of different textual transmission than is available, e.g., through the Coptic papyrus. Compare the treatment by Wengst (1984), p. 11; also Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 39–43; C.N. Jefford and S.J. Patterson, "A Note on *Didache* 12.2a (Coptic)," *SecCent* 7 (1989–90), pp. 65–75.

⁴⁴ For the text of the *Constitutions*, see Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 199 n. 3; Schöllgen (1991), p. 139 (cf. p. 81). For the problem of the final chapter as such, see P. Vielhauer and G. Strecker, "Das Schlusskapitel der *Didache*," in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 535–37; H.R. Seeliger, "Erwägungen zur Hintergrund und Zweck des apokalyptischen Schlusskapitels der *Didache*," *StPatr* 21 (1989), pp. 185–92; C.M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*," in J.M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (Leuven, 1989), pp. 197–230.

⁴⁵ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 205–209, with a discussion of the relevant literature.

ist."⁴⁶ Since Wengst places the prayer in his edition of the text, however, he implies that it may belong to the early text of the *Didache*. I hesitate to say that Niederwimmer offers the better solution by his consideration of the prayer as an *early* (!) interpolation ("um 200 oder früher?").⁴⁷ Of course, I respect the difficulties that arise as one attempts to derive a conclusive argument from the testimonies that support the early presence of the prayer in the text, but it remains true that a further consideration of Niederwimmer is not convincing. He indeed considers the *myron* prayer as an imitation of the preceding prayers. But in the light of the different possible reconstructions, it is not wise to use the criterion of similarity as an argument against authenticity.

Finally, what is the solution for the problem of section 1.3b–2.1? It has often been observed that this section constitutes an interruption between the *Grundsatzklärung* (statement of principle)⁴⁸ of 1.2 and its elaboration in 2.2ff. Even by its very position it looks like a *Fremdkörper* (foreign element) which is meant to strengthen the Christian character of the doctrine, which the interpolation seems to base more directly upon the "Sayings of the Lord." Whatever the precise literary background of the materials which it contains⁴⁹ may have been, the description of it by Wengst as an *interpolatio evangelica* is more convincing in my view than are theories that try to "recuperate" the section as a *final* redaction or a more developed recension.⁵⁰ There is no reason to exclude the likelihood that the Two Ways tradition as such had functioned in early Christianity as a *Christian* tradition, otherwise, in a Christian "reception." After all, it functions in *Barnabas* in the same way!⁵¹ Could one not say that too much stress has been given to the Jewish character of the Two Ways tradition, so that it has not sufficiently been perceived as a Christian

⁴⁶ Wengst (1984), p. 59.

⁴⁷ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 209.

⁴⁸ So Wengst (1984), p. 67.

⁴⁹ See the treatment of this problem in C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 38–53; Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 98–100.

⁵⁰ See the solutions of Rordorf and Tuilier (1978) and Niederwimmer (1989); also W.D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 19–30; Jefford (1989), pp. 20–21.

⁵¹ Cf. the remarks of Wengst (1984), p. 193 n. 300: "Das ὅσα γέγραπται weist darauf hin, dass der Verfasser die Zwei-Wegen-Lehre als autoritative 'Schrift' angesehen hat."

one?⁵² It may have been understood by the redactor of the *Didache* simply as a *Christian* rule of conduct. In that way, the edition of Wengst could signify that the material of section 1.3b–2.1 does not belong to the earliest stage that we are able to reach of the *Didache* as a Christian text.

In conclusion, the edition of the *Didache* by Klaus Wengst offers good opportunities to reflect upon the earliest shape of that precious document. I suggest that, on the strength of his edition, it is possible to place the *Didache* in an early Christian community that had received the Two Ways doctrine as a *Christian* manual of ethics, a community that also was acquainted in its liturgical prescriptions with a prayer on the *myron*. At the same time, there is nothing that excludes the knowledge of a written gospel (Matthew)⁵³ by that community, nor that contradicts its use of “archaic” liturgical and disciplinary traditions.⁵⁴

⁵² Cf. the elaborated considerations of Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 48–64.

⁵³ Cf. É. Massaux, *Influence de l'Évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée* (Leuven, 1986), pp. 604–46. Massaux's optimism concerning the knowledge by the Didachist about other “written” gospels is not shared so widely today; cf. Köhler (1987), pp. 30–56; Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 71–77: “Adhuc sub iudice lis est” (p. 77).

⁵⁴ See on this recently, A. Tuilier, “La liturgie dans la *Didachè* et l'essénisme,” *StPatr* 26 (1993), pp. 200–10; M. Del Verme, “The Didache and Judaism: the ἀπαρχή of *Didache* 13:3–7,” *StPatr* 26 (1993), pp. 113–20; but cf. C.N. Jefford, “Presbyters in the Community of the *Didache*,” *StPatr* 21 (1989), pp. 122–28.

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE COPTIC PAPYRUS
OF THE *DIDACHE*
(BRITISH LIBRARY ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPT 9271)*

F. STANLEY JONES

California State University, Long Beach, California, U.S.A.

PAUL A. MIRECKI

University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, U.S.A.

I. *Introduction to the Manuscript*

The Coptic papyrus of the *Didache* contains a text which corresponds to *Did* 10.3b–12.2a. It is the oldest preserved witness to the text of this section.¹ Since it contains a considerable number of variants from the sole leading Greek manuscript, the Coptic text poses a serious challenge for every scientific editor and reader of the *Didache*. The text-critical evaluation of the Coptic has also been hampered by the inability of research to account convincingly for a series of other peculiar features of the manuscript. One recent translator comments upon previous research and writes, “A thoroughly convincing determination of the function of the piece of papyrus is, however, yet to be given.”² The authors of this article have worked in collaboration in the belief that further consideration of this papyrus can help to dispel certain misconceptions about the manuscript and can lead towards a more adequate evaluation of this textual witness.³

* The reader should refer to Plate 1 (British Library Oriental Manuscript 9271 *recto*) and Plate 2 (British Library Oriental Manuscript 9271 *verso*) in this volume.

¹ To refresh the memory, the leading Greek manuscript of the *Didache* stems from the year 1056. The Greek manuscripts of the secondary transmission in the *Apostolic Constitutions* do not take one back much further. Whatever the precise origin of the Ethiopic translation, its preserved witnesses are not older than the Coptic papyrus; see A. Bausi, “Alcune considerazioni sul ‘Senodos’ etiopico,” *RSE* 34 (1990), pp. 19–22.

² “Eine durchweg überzeugende Funktionsbestimmung des Papyrusblatts steht allerdings noch aus”; G. Schöllgen, “Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre,” in G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991), p. 88. To aid the reader, English translations of critical quotations from the secondary literature have been provided by F. Stanley Jones.

³ The ultimate responsibility for section II of this essay rests with Paul A. Mirecki. F. Stanley Jones wrote the remaining sections and bears complete responsibility for

By way of introduction, it is appropriate to retrace briefly the modern history of the manuscript. The earliest recorded scholarly encounter with this papyrus is recounted in L.-Th. Lefort's report of a visit to Egypt in 1923.⁴ Lefort writes that in the spring of this year, "M. Nahmann, marchand bien connu," showed him this "très large feuille" of papyrus "dans un état remarquable de conservation et pratiquement intact." The text was missing only a piece from the upper left corner, but the accompanying fragments seemed to be able to fill even this lacuna.

Lefort did not purchase the manuscript at the time because he did not recognize the text as the *Didache* and he considered the asking price to be excessive. Making a mental note of certain phrases which correspond to *Did* 11.4–5 ("Every apostle who comes to you may remain one day . . ."), Lefort traveled to Jerusalem where P. Abel suggested that the text which Lefort had remembered might correspond to something in the *Didache*. Lefort was able to confirm this suggestion while in Jerusalem. Shortly after his return to Europe, he learned that the manuscript had entered the British Museum. The papyrus had been "purchased on 16 October 1923 from the dealer Maurice Nahman of Cairo."⁵

Since this date the papyrus has been edited and translated three times. G. Horner published an initial edition, translation, and commentary in 1924.⁶ After Horner had shared a picture of the manuscript with Carl Schmidt, Schmidt received support from the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft for a trip to London, where he was allowed not only to examine the manuscript but also

these materials. The two authors have, however, been engaged in an extended conversation and are indebted to each other for an indeterminable number of suggestions and improvements. This conversation began at the Third International Conference on Manichaeism in Arcavacata di Rende and Amantea in Calabria, Italy, 31 August to 5 September 1993. Several other scholars of the Coptic language who were at the conference also joined the discussion, particularly Iain Gardner of Edith Cowan University and Jan Helderman of the Free University in Amsterdam. The authors extend sincere thanks to each of these scholars.

⁴ L.-Th. Lefort, *Les Pères apostoliques en copte*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1952), pp. ix–xi. The quotations which appear in the following text are from these pages.

⁵ This statement (made upon the basis of the handwritten register of expenditures for the oriental manuscripts in the British Library) appears in B. Layton, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired Since the Year 1906* (London, 1987), p. 237.

⁶ G. Horner, "A New Papyrus Fragment of the *Didaché* in Coptic," *JThS* 25 (1924), pp. 225–31.

to open the glass and rearrange the fragments. Thereafter he published his own edition, translation, and commentary.⁷ Schmidt was not satisfied with Horner's work because "(1) Horner did not illuminate the text either from a critical point of view or from a theological one and (2) not all the difficulties that met the first one to decipher the damaged papyrus have been dealt with."⁸ Finally, Lefort himself edited, translated, and commented upon the text as part of his *Les Pères apostoliques en copte*.⁹ Of these three editions, the one by Schmidt clearly deserves preference for scientific purposes. It most accurately presents the readings of the manuscript. Horner was not careful enough in his published transcription,¹⁰ and Lefort standardized the Coptic without always indicating exactly where he had altered the text.

A reexamination of the manuscript in London during late August 1993 (again in June 1994) has, however, led to some minor corrections in Schmidt's readings. These will be listed according to column and line:

- 1.1 There is absolutely no trace of the **I** which Schmidt supposedly saw as the first letter of this line. The assumed preceding letters are also completely gone, though a quarter inch of papyrus is well preserved to the left of the **T**.
- 1.1 Instead of **NON**, the reading **NEN** seems more probable.
- 1.3 The assumed **Q** is completely gone.
- 1.4 There is a dot before the word **IHC**.
- 1.4 The letters **ΕΠ**, which are read by Schmidt, are completely gone now.¹¹
- 1.5 Part of an apostrophe is preserved above the first **Ε**.
- 1.6 The two apostrophes which are listed by Schmidt are not visible. It is unlikely that they were ever there (see also Horner).
- 1.7 There is an additional dot (apostrophe) after the second **K** of the second word.

⁷ C. Schmidt, "Das koptische Didache-Fragment des British Museum," *ZNW* 24 (1925), pp. 81-99.

⁸ Schmidt (1925), p. 81 (except in the case of section II, all translations of secondary sources throughout the essay are my own). Further criticisms by Schmidt are cited from one of his letters in K. Bihlmeyer, *Die apostolischen Väter* (Tübingen, 1970), p. vi.

⁹ Lefort (1952), vol. 1, pp. 32-34 (text); vol. 2, pp. 25-28 (translation).

¹⁰ E.g., he reconstructs the wording at the beginning of col. 2 line 5 with no indication that this is a reconstruction.

¹¹ Horner would also seem not to have seen these letters.

- 1.9 The second € is not at all visible and was probably never there (see also Horner).
- 1.19 The T at the beginning of the line is not visible at all.
- 1.20 Only the second apostrophe is visible. There may have been only one there.
- 1.23 There is clearly an additional mark (an I?) at the end of NHTN. This mark could, however, be part of another letter (it looks most like the last leg of a II, but it could be an attempt at a Q).
- 1.29 The marks at the end of the line begin with a comma.
- 2.2 The sixth letter could be a N. The vertical stroke of this letter does not extend down far enough to be a Q, and the preserved strokes also seem to be too far apart for a Q.
- 2.5 There is no room for the second € which Schmidt supplies. Perhaps the preceding N was not there (see Horner).
- 2.6 All six of the first letters are completely gone.
- 2.20 The hyphen is not in the manuscript.
- 2.20 The w is probably an O (so also Horner).
- 2.21 The last two letters are very uncertain (i.e., they should have dots under them).
- 2.32 The C that is read by Schmidt is hardly visible as such. The letter looks more like an I, p, or Q.
- 3.3 The dot at the end of the line is not there.
- 3.11 There is not enough room in the gap for the supplemented € (so also Lefort).
- 3.12 There is not enough room in the manuscript for the supplemented M (so also Lefort).
- 3.13 The second N does not have a line over it.

In previous studies the manuscript has been dated to the fifth century.¹² It has been suggested that the manuscript was originally found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt.¹³ These suggestions can be evaluated on the basis of paleographical and dialectical analyses.

¹² Horner (1924), p. 225; Lefort (1952), vol. 1, pp. xiv-xv; P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, vol. 1 (London, 1954), p. 226; cf. Schmidt (1925), p. 82.

¹³ Horner (1924), p. 225; Schmidt (1925), p. 82.

II. *Text, Translation, and Textual Commentary*

In the English translation which follows, numbers in square brackets refer to the standard chapter and verse divisions for the *Didache*. The English translation attempts to reflect the coarse nature of the Coptic version with a minimal reference to the Greek. Words in parentheses are not found in the Coptic text but are added to aid the English reader in understanding the probable meaning of specific texts. A critical commentary on both the Coptic edition and the English translation follows.

Column 1 (29 lines)

1 ρΑΚΤΕΙ]ΤΟϞ ΝΕΝΨΗΡΙ ΝΗ[Λ]ΩΜΙ ΕΨΨΙΩΗΤ ΔΝΔΝ
 2 ΔΕ ρΑ]ΚΕΡΩΜΑΤ ΝΕΝ ρΑΚ† ΝΕΝ ΝΟϞΩΡΗ ΜΠΝΕϞ
 3 ΜΑΤΙ]ΚΩΝ ΝΕΜ ΟϞϞΟ ΝΕΜ ΟϞΩΝ[Ω] ΝΨΔΕΝΕΩ
 4 ΕΒΔΛ] ΩΙΤΗ · ΤΗϞ ΠΕΚΨΗΡΙ ΤΕΝ[ΨΕΠΩΜΑΤ Ν
 5 ΤΑΔΤΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΩΩΒ ΝΙΒΙ ΔΕ ΟϞΝΨ[ΩΔ]Μ ΜΔΚ ΠΩΚ
 6 ΠΕ ΠΔΟϞ ΝΨΔΕΝΕΩ ρΔΜΗΝ" ΔΡΙΠΜΗΟΪ
 7 ΠΔϞ ΝΤΕΚ' ΕΚΛΗΝΓ'Δ' ΚΕϞ ΕΚΕΝΕΩΜΕϞ ρΔΒΔΛ ΜΠΕ
 8 ΘΔϞ ΝΙΒΙ ΔϞΩ ΝΚ' ΔΔΚϞ ΕΒΔΛ ΩΕΝΤΕΚ' [[Ε]]ΔΓΑΠΗ
 9 ΝΚ' ΤΟϞΗΤ'Ϟ Ε[ΒΔΛ] ΩΜ ΠΕϞΤΟϞ ΤΗΟϞ ΕΩΡΗΪ ΕΤΕΚ
 10 ΜΕΤ' ΡΡΔ ΕΤΔΚ[Ϟ]ΒΤΟΤϞ ΝΕϞ ΔΕ ΤΩΚ ΤΕ Τ'[[Ε]]ΩΔΜ
 11 ΝΕΜ ΠΔΟϞ ΝΨΔΕΝΕΩ ρΔΜΗΝ" ΜΔΡΕϞΪ ΔΕ ΠΔϞ ΔϞ
 12 Ω ΜΔΡΕ ΠΕΪΚΟϞΜΟϞ ϞΙΝΙ ρΔΜΗΝ" ΩϞΑΝΝΔ ΜΠΗΪ
 13 ΝΔΔ' ΠΕΤΟϞΕΒ ΜΔΡΕϞΪ ΠΕΤΕ ΝϞΟϞΕΒ ΕΝ ΜΔΡΕϞ
 14 ΕΡΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΙΝ ΠΔ[Ϟ] ΔϞΙ ΔΜΗΝ' " ΜΔΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΕΠΡΟ
 15 ΦΗΤΗϞ ΝϞΕΨΕΠΩΜΑΤ ΝΘΗ ΕΤΕΩΝΕϞ ΕΤΒΕ ΠϞΕ
 16 ΔΙ ΝΔΕ ΝΜΠΕ[ϞΤ]ΙΝΟϞϞΙ ΨΕΠΩΜΑΤ' ΝΤΕΪΩΗ ΕΤΕ
 17 ΤΗΔΩ ΜΔϞ ΔΕ [ΤΕ]ΝΨΕΠΩΜΑΤ' ΝΤΑΔΤΚ' ΠΙΩΤ
 18 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΕϞ†Ν[ΟϞ]ϞΙ ΕΤΕΩΔΚ' ΤΔΜΔΝ ΕΛΔϞ ΕΒΔΛ
 19 ΩΙ]ΤΗ ΤΗϞ ΠΕΚΨ[Η]ΡΙ ΠΩΚ Π[Ε] ΠΔΟϞ ΝΨΔΕΝΕΩ
 20 ΔΜΗΝ" ΠΗ ΟϞΗ ΕΤΗΝΕΪ ΝϞ†ϞΒΩ ΝΗΤΗ'
 21 ΝΗΕΪ ΕΤΔΝΕΡΨΔΡΕΠ ΝΔΔΟϞ ΨΔΠϞ ΕΡΑΤΕΝ
 22 ΕΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΔϞ ΠΗ ΕΤ†ϞΒΩ ΔϞΨΔΝΚΑΤϞ ΝϞ†
 23 ϞΒΩ ΝΗΤΗ[[Ω]] ΩΗ ΩΕΝΚΕϞΒΔΟΪ ΕϞΒΩΛ ΕΒΔΛ Ν
 24 ΝΙΩΟϞΕ† ΠΕΪ ΝΤΕΪΩΗ ΜΠΕΡϞΩΤΕΜ ΕΡΔϞ ΕΨΩ
 25 ΠΙ ΔΕ ΝΤΔϞ ΔϞΨΔΝΟϞΩΩ ΝΗΟϞΜΕΤΜΕΪ ΝΕΜ ΟϞ
 26 ϞΑΟϞΗ ΝΤΕ ΠΔϞ ΨΔΠϞ ΕΛΔΤΕΝ ΝΤΘΗ Π// ΠΔϞ
 27 ΕΤΒΕ ΝΔΠΩϞΤΩΛΟϞ ΔΕ ΝΕΜ ΝΕΠΡΩΦΗΤΗϞ
 28 ΚΑΤΑ ΠϞΕΔΙ ΜΠΕϞΔΓΓΕΛΙΩΝ ΔΡΕΪ ΝΤΕΪΩΗ
 29 ΔΠΩϞΤΩΛΟϞ ΝΙΒΙ ΕΤΗΝΗΟϞ ΨΔΛΔΤΗ : : : :

1 [10.3] . . . you gave them to the sons of men.^a But we,
2 you favored us, you gave to us food which is spiritual
3 and drink and life eternal
4 through Jesus your Son. [10.4] We give thanks to
5 you for everything because you are powerful.
6 Yours is the glory forever! Amen. [10.5] Remember,
7 Lord, your church, that you deliver her from
8 all evil and you perfect her by your love,
9 that you gather her from the four winds into your
10 kingdom which you prepared for her. Because yours is the power
11 and the glory forever! Amen. [10.6] Let the Lord come and
12 let this cosmos pass away. Amen. Osanna to the House
13 of David. He who is holy, let him come. He who is not holy, let him
14 repent. The Lord came! Amen. [10.7] But allow the prophets
15 to give thanks in the manner they wish. But concerning the saying
16 for the ointment, give thanks just as
17 you say, "We give thanks to you Father
18 concerning the ointment which you showed us, through
19 Jesus your Son. Yours is the glory forever!
20 Amen." [11.1] Therefore, the one who comes and teaches you
21 these things which we have just spoken, receive him to yourselves.
22 [11.2] But if that one who teaches, turns and
23 teaches you other instructions, destroying the
24 first (instructions), do not listen to him. But
25 if he adds some righteousness and
26 knowledge of the Lord, receive him to yourselves just as the Lord.
27 [11.3] But concerning the apostles and the prophets,
28 act according to the word of the gospel, thusly:
29 [11.4] Every apostle who comes to you,

^a Copt: unknown word; Gk: "for their enjoyment."

Column 2 (32 lines)

1 μαρεϋσω ἡοῦδαοῦ εἰωπι δε
 2 ετε τεϋχρια τε μαρεϋσω ἡρα
 3 οῦ β̄ εἰωπι δε αϋψανσω τ̄
 4 ἡραοῦ οὔπρωφητης ἡνοῦχ
 5 π[ε] εϋνηϊ δε εβαλ ἡξε πιαλω
 6 στωλος] ἄπερτεϋχι λαπ†
 7 ἡσα οὔδεικ ψαντεϋμνταν
 8 ἄμας εἰωπι δε αϋψανχι ραμντ
 9 οὔπροφητης ἡνοῦχ πε про
 10 φητης нивι ет' сеџи ρн нот
 11 π̄να ἄπερπιαζειн μαϋ οὔδε
 12 перџитсneoῦ етвнт̄' δε на
 13 вι нивι сenekeoῦ ннтн ева[λ]
 14 पेїनावι δε ἡταϋ ἡсenekeϋ
 15 ннтн еваλ е̄н ἡотан нивι ен
 16 етсеџи ρн нотπ̄на̄. неї ρен
 17 проφητης не αλλα εἰωπι
 18 енесмат ἄπ̄χс ψαап `м̄. μαϋ
 19 еваλ οὔн ρн неїсмат тетн
 20 несоῦен п̄проφητης δε οὔ
 21 м̄еї̄ пе ατοῦω πρωφητης нι
 22 вι еткω ἡноῦтраπεζα еρнї̄
 23 енϥοῦωм еваλ ἡρнтс ен пеї̄
 24 ἡтеї̄ρн οὔпроφητης ἡноχ
 25 пе αῶω проφητης нивι ет
 26 †свω ρн нотметмеї ен
 27 е̄нϥиγι мас ен οὔпроφητης ἡ
 28 н̄]οῦχ пе проφнстнс нивι меї̄
 29 е̄ра̄тер е̄ра̄терδοκимаζε`гн
 30 ἄμαϋ еϋ†свω αῶω е̄черме
 31 трн̄ [н̄]ноῦпараδωсис ἡκωс
 32 меї̄κωн ρн тек' κληсia

1 [11.5] let him stay a day. But if
2 he is in need, let him stay two
3 days. But if he stays three
4 days, he is a false prophet.
5 [11.6] But when the apostle goes away,
6 do not let him receive anything
7 except a bread-loaf until he rests (for the night).
8 But if he takes money,
9 he is a false prophet.
10 [11.7] Every prophet who speaks in a
11 spirit, do not test him or
12 doubt him, because every
13 sin will be forgiven you,
14 but this sin will not be forgiven
15 you. [11.8] Not everyone
16 who speaks in a spirit is (among) the
17 prophets, but (only) if
18 the behavior of the Lord is with him,
19 therefore by these actions you
20 will know the prophet, that is, which one
21 is true. [11.9] And every prophet
22 who prepares a table
23 while not eating from it, a false prophet is
24 of this kind.
25 [11.10] And every prophet who
26 teaches concerning righteousness
27 while not doing it, is a false prophet.
28 [11.11] Every true prophet,
29 having been approved,
30 having taught and testified to
31 an orderly tradition
32 in the church,

Column 3 (18 lines)

- 1 ΝΕΩΤΡΕΠ ΕΛΑΥ ΩΝΤΗΝΟΘ ΑΛΛΑ
- 2 ΑΡΕ Π[ΕΥ]ΡΕΠ ΩΑ Φ† ΝΤΕΪΩΗ ΔΗ
- 3 ΝΑΤΡΑ ΜΑΣ ΝΞΙ ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ[.]
- 4 ΝΤΕ ΝΙΟΤΑΪΨ ΠΗ ΔΕ ΕΤΗΝΕ
- 5 ΖΑΔΑΣ ΩΝ ΝΟΩΠΗΝΕΟΘΜΑ ΖΕ ΜΑ
- 6 ΝΗΪ ΝΩΕΝΩΔΜΤ' ΪΕ ΚΕΝΚΕΪΚΕΪ
- 7 ΠΕΡC[Ω]ΤΜ ΝCΟΥ ΕΨΩΠΙ ΔΕ Ν
- 8 ΤΑΥ ΔΥΨΑΝΖΑΔΑΣ ΝΗΤΗ ΕΤΒΕ
- 9 ΩΑΪΝΙ ΕΤΖΑΡΩ ΜΠΕΡΤΕ ΛΑΠ†
- 10 ΜΑΤΗ ΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΑΥ ΟΘΑΝ ΝΙΒΙ
- 11 ΝΔΕ [Ε]ΤΗΝΗΝΟΘ ΨΑΡΑΤΕΝ ΩΜ
- 12 ΠΡΕΝ [Μ]ΠΠΞC ΨΑΠΟΘ ΕΡΑΤΗ
- 13 Ν[Τ]ΑΤΗ ΔΕ ΔΩΚΕΙΜΑΖΕΙΝ
- 14 ΜΑΥ ΔΘΩ CΟΘΩΝΥ ΟΘΝΤΗ
- 15 ΤΗ ΜΕΘ ΩΩΤΗ ΝΟΘΕΙΜΕΙ
- 16 ΝΑΟΘΪΝΕΜ ΜΗ ΝΑΘΑΖΕ ΕΨΩ
- 17 ΠΙ ΔΕ ΟΘΕΪ ΕΥΗΝΟΘ ΨΑΡΑΤΗ
- 18 ΕΒΑΛ ΩΙ ΤΕΩΩΙΗ ΤΔΕΙΜ ΕΛΑΥ

1 those among you should not judge him, but
2 his judgment is with God. Thus
3 did the prophets
4 of the (old) times. [11.12] But the one who will
5 say in a spirit,
6 "Give me some money or some other things,"
7 do not listen to him. But if
8 he says this to you concerning
9 others in want, let not anyone
10 among you judge him. [12.1] But everyone
11 who comes to you in
12 the name of the Lord, receive such to
13 yourselves. But test
14 him and know him, (for) you
15 yourselves know
16 (the difference between) the right and the left.
17 [12.2a] But if one comes to you
18 on the road, help him.

Textual Commentary

This Coptic text edition differs from the earlier editions of Horner (1924), Schmidt (1925), and Lefort (1952) in several ways. Neither Horner nor Lefort was concerned to publish the text as it exists in the manuscript. Instead, each presented a standardized text with occasional notes on difficult readings. One of their primary purposes seems to have been the reconstruction of a proposed, earlier Coptic version of the text, which was assumed to be in the Sahidic dialect, together with a modern translation. Thus, the hypothetical reconstruction of the Coptic *Vorlage* unfortunately took precedence over the manuscript itself and the diverse primary evidence which it supplies for the study of scribal activity and the Coptic language. This hypothetical reconstruction of the pure text was part of a larger program to employ the text in a further reconstruction of the history of transmission for the text of the *Didache* itself.

Schmidt, on the other hand, follows the more standard papyrological practice, that is, he presents the Fayyumic text as it is in the manuscript, together with its transcriptional uncertainties and its dialectical and morphological peculiarities. His dissatisfactions with Horner's edition are clear in his article. Schmidt's edition, though plagued by typographical errors and inaccurate readings, has nevertheless been the best guide to the text of the manuscript since his work appeared in 1925. The value of Schmidt's text, apart from his more exact transcription, is that it presents the results of a brief period (perhaps not more than one hour) of physical repair and reconstruction of the manuscript. This occurred when Schmidt opened the glass plate in the British Museum and apparently freed several, small papyrus fragments which previously had hidden portions of text from researchers like Horner (this made Horner's edition obsolete within a year of its publication). The problems with Schmidt's text are discussed in detail in the following textual commentary where they arise. The Coptic lexicographer Walter Ewing Crum was also familiar with both the manuscript and Schmidt's edition (which he apparently preferred over that of Horner), as is evidenced by the several references to Schmidt's study which are scattered throughout his dictionary¹⁴ and as are noted in the following study.

The primary purpose of this study is to present a transcription of

¹⁴ W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939).

the Fayyumic text which: 1) is free from the standardizations which were introduced by Horner and Lefort; 2) is free of the problems which are associated with Schmidt's edition; and 3) is based upon notations which were made during recent autopsies of the document in the British Library by F. Stanley Jones (August 1993; June 1994). I then employed the notes of Jones, which were compared with all earlier editions and with the photographs of the manuscript which were supplied by both Jones and Clayton Jefford. The positive value of the notes by Jones is observed in the fact that they are recent notations which confirm the status of the ink on the papyrus. The following critical commentary is to be read with the photographic plates of both sides of the manuscript which appear at the end of this volume.

Several letters, supralinear strokes, and anomalous traces of ink which were visible when the manuscript was studied by Horner, Schmidt, and Lefort, but which are no longer extant, are included in the present edition within square brackets, accompanied by commentary which assesses the relative probability that such items were actually seen. To identify doubtful readings of individual letters, Lefort used the lower half of square brackets. I have standardized quotations from Lefort with the use of a sublinear dot (e.g., ⲁ̣). Because Horner and Lefort standardized the text and did so in different ways, their studies are quoted only where their transcripts or comments differ significantly from those of Schmidt, or of Jones and Mirecki.

1.1 Horner: ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛⲥ ⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ ⲛⲗⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲱⲓ ⲓⲛⲧ

Schmidt: ⲓⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲟⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲣⲓⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲓⲛⲧ

Lefort: ⲓⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲛⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ ⲛⲛⲓⲣⲓⲱⲙⲓ ⲉⲩⲱⲓⲓⲛⲧ

a) ⲓⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓⲓⲧⲟⲩ: Lefort notes, "nous ne voyons plus trace du **I** vu par Schmidt" (p. 32). The letter, which is not noted by Horner, was seen by Schmidt and has since deteriorated, perhaps when Schmidt opened the glass plate in order to place fragments. On the abrupt beginning, see Schmidt's comments (pp. 85, 90–91).

b) Concerning Schmidt's ⲛⲟⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ, Lefort notes that it is "lapsus pour ⲛⲉⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ = ⲛⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ" (p. 32), while Jones notes "I read **ϵ**." Horner's ⲓⲧⲟⲩⲛⲥ ⲛⲱⲙⲣⲓ is misguided. The letter **ϵ** is heavily damaged by ink abrasion and a vertical lacuna.

c) Concerning Horner's ⲛⲗⲱⲙⲓ, for this Fayyumic dialectical shift of consonant (**ⲣ**/**ⲗ**), Lefort notes "ⲛⲛⲗⲱⲙⲓ semble peu probable" (p. 32). Schmidt notes that "...die senkrechte Hasta weist auf **ⲛ**

und statt **λ** ist **ρ** zu lesen, da das **λ** des Fajum-Dialekts schon fast ganz durch **ρ** verdrängt ist, s.o.S. 83" (p. 84).

d) Concerning Schmidt's *hapax* **ϵϥϣϣϣϣ**, his suggestion is unlikely: "Hängt dies mit dem Namen der Sketischen Wüste im Wâdi Natrûn **ϣϣϣϣ**, **ϣϣϣϣ**?" (p. 85). Similarly, Crum asks "In place name (??): **ϣϣϣϣ** later **ϣϣϣϣ** (*v* EW HistMonastNitria 27)" and then notes Schmidt's article (p. 548B). More convincing is the suggestion of Lefort of a scribal error concerning **ϵϥϣϣϣϣ** (= *ad satietatem cordis*): "Paléographiquement l'erreur s'explique facilement" (p. 25); on Lefort's **ϵϥϣϣϣϣ**, see Crum (p. 347B = **ϣϣϣϣ**).

1.2 Horner: **ΔΕ] ΔΚΕΡΘΜΑΤ**; Schmidt: **ΔΕ ϧΔ]ΚΕ[ρ]ΘΜΑΤ**

Concerning Horner's **ΔΕ] ΔΚΕΡΘΜΑΤ**, there is enough space between the reconstructed left margin and the first clearly visible letter (**Κ**) for the four letters **ΔΕ ϧΔ**. Also, Horner may have seen the letter **Δ** in 1924 which consequently had been lost to further deterioration when Schmidt saw the manuscript in 1925. On Schmidt's lacuna [**ρ**], Lefort notes "La boucle du **ρ** est bien visible" (p. 32). It is visible in the modern photograph. Horner notes that "ἐχαρίσω is accurately given by the double verb 'thou didst favor—thou gavest'" (p. 226).

1.2–3 Schmidt: **ⲙⲙⲡⲛⲉϥ[ⲙⲁⲧⲓ]ⲕϣⲛ**

Lefort incorrectly notes "Cod. **ⲙⲙⲡⲛ**=", and adds "Le scribe, notons-le une fois pour toutes, tantôt double, tantôt simplifie ou supprime les nasales" (p. 32). Concerning Schmidt's **-ⲕϣ-**, Jones notes that these letters are "impossible to see."

Horner: **ⲙⲁⲧⲓⲕⲟ]ⲛ**; Schmidt: **ⲙⲁⲧⲓ]ⲕϣⲛ**

The letters **Κ** and **Ο** should not be inside the square-brackets, as in Horner's transcription, since letter traces are clearly visible.

Horner and Schmidt: **ⲟϥⲱⲛϧ**; Lefort: **ⲟϥⲱⲛ[ϧ]**

Apparently visible in 1924–25, the final **ϧ** was completely abraded when Lefort saw the manuscript.

1.4A · **ⲧⲏϥ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲓ**; Schmidt: **ⲧⲏϥ ⲡⲉⲕϣⲏⲣⲓ**

a) The supralinear stroke is clearly above all three letters in this standard Coptic *nomen sacrum*. The odd placement of the stroke in Schmidt's edition must be a typesetter's error.

b) Jones notes that "there is a point after **ⲛ**" and before the *nomen sacrum*. If this is not merely accidental, perhaps it is a scribe's nota-

tion that a *nomen sacrum* follows. A dot after an abbreviation could be understood to follow the epigraphic model.¹⁵

1.4B Horner: **ΕΝΥ[ΕΠΩΜΑΤ Ν]**; Schmidt: **ΤΕΝ[Υ]ΕΠ[ΩΜΑΤ Ν]**

a) Schmidt correctly notes the remains of **Τ** at the beginning of the word.

b) Schmidt reads **ΕΠ**, apparently as an interpretation of ink traces above the lacuna, while Jones notes that the letters are “completely gone.” See the discussion on col. 1 line 17 below.

1.5A **ΤΑΔΤΚ ΕΤΒΕ ΩΩΒ ΝΙΒΙ**

Jones notes that “part of an apostrophe is preserved above the first **Ε**,” but this is most likely an accidental, rather than a deliberate, stroke of ink.

ΔΕ ΟΥΝΥ[ΩΔ]Λ ΜΔΚ

Horner: **ΔΕΟΥΗ Υ[ΩΔ]ΜΜΔΚ**

Schmidt: **ΔΕ ΟΥΝΥ[ΩΔ]Λ ΜΔΚ**

1.5B-6 Horner: **ΠΩΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΔΟΥ**; Schmidt: **ΠΩΚ ΠΕ ΠΔΟΥ**

Concerning Horner’s **Ι**, Schmidt notes “das **Ι** ist eine Lücke im Papyrus” (p. 84).

1.6 **ΩΔΜΗΝ**”

a) The form **ΩΔΜΗΝ** is found three times in this text (at col. 1 lines 6, 11, 12), while the form **ΔΜΗΝ** is found twice (at col. 1 lines 14, 20), and always functions as the conclusion of a traditional blessing. The word “Amen” is found in both the Coptic and the Greek only at col. 1 line 14, and in the Coptic but not in the Greek at col. 1 lines 6, 11, 12. It is also not found in the Greek at col. 1 line 20, but there it is part of a traditional “ointment prayer”¹⁶ which apparently employs its own “Amen.”

b) Concerning the double apostrophe (”), Jones notes that it is now “completely gone.” Schmidt lists and discusses both single and double apostrophes in this manuscript (p. 83).

¹⁵ See the discussions and standard bibliography in C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London, 1979), pp. 26–48, 83–84, and Addenda n. 5 (esp. p. 83).

¹⁶ S. Gero, “The So-Called Ointment Prayer in the Coptic Version of the Didache: A Re-Evaluation,” *HThR* 70 (1977), pp. 67–84.

1.7 Schmidt: **ΝΤΕΚ' ΕΚΛΗCΙΑ ΚΕC**

a) With respect to **ΕΚΛΗCΙΓ'Δ'**, Horner, Schmidt, and Lefort note that the **Δ** is written superscript, but make no notation in their transcripts (see the discussion on col. 2 line 32 for **ϚΝ ΤΕΚ' ΚΛΗCΙΑ**). Jones notes that the **Δ** was "added by this hand, at least after the [following] **Κ** was written."

b) On **ΚΕC**, Horner notes that "**ΚΕC** represents the abbreviated form of the conjunction **ΞΕΚΑC** which governs the verb for 'deliver'" (p. 226); cf. Crum (p. 764A).

1.8 **ϚΕΝΤΕΚ' [[Ε]]ΔΓΑΠΗ**

Lefort notes "le 3^e **Ε** gratté" (p. 32). The extra **Ε** is probably the result of *anablepsis* and *homoioteleuton* in relation to **ΝΤΕΚ' ΕΚΛΗCΙΑ** in the preceding line (col. 1 line 7). The scribe discovered the error and erased the letter, probably immediately after having written it.

1.9 **ΝΚ' ΤΟϚΗΤ'C**

Lefort notes "Le 2^e **Τ** en surcharge" (p. 32); Schmidt, "letztes **Τ** übergeschrieben" (p. 84).

1.10 **ΤΕ Τ'[[Ε]]ΘΑΜ**

Schmidt notes "**Ε** ausradiert" (p. 84); Lefort, "avec **Ε** gratté" (p. 32). The apostrophe may have been added before or after the erasure by the same or a later scribe.

1.11 **ϚΑΜΗΝ"**

See the discussion on col. 1 line 6 above.

1.12-13 **ϚΑΜΗΝ"**

See the discussion on col. 1 line 6 above.

ΩCΑΝΝΑ

Horner notes "The Hebrew **ΩCΑΝΝΑ** is spelt without an 'h' [Ϛ]" (p. 227).

ΜΠΗΪ ΝΔΔ'

Horner notes "a remarkable variant" (p. 227), apparently in reference to the forms that appear both in the Greek manuscript (Ἰωαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυείδ) and in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Ἰωαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ), which probably has been harmonized to Mt 21:9a, 15; cf. Schmidt's discussion (pp. 97-98).

1.14 $\overline{\Pi\Delta[C]}\ \Delta\Upsilon\text{I}$

Horner notes “‘The Lord came’ . . . representing a literal translation of the Syriac ‘atha’ which some would render by the imperative mood” (p. 227). Schmidt adds “Ko. übersetzt das $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}$ mit $\acute{\omicron}\ \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\lambda\theta\epsilon\nu$ ” (p. 85).

$\Delta\Lambda\text{H}\text{H}\text{N}''$

See the discussion on col. 1 line 6 above.

1.15–16 $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon\ \Pi\epsilon\epsilon\Delta\text{I}\ \overline{\Pi\Delta\epsilon}\ \text{H}\Lambda\text{Π}\epsilon[\text{CT}]\text{I}\text{N}\text{O}\Upsilon\Upsilon\text{I}$

Lefort standardizes the scribe’s particle $\overline{\Pi\Delta\epsilon}$ (also at col. 3 line 11 as $\text{H}\Delta\epsilon$) to a simple $\Delta\epsilon$. Jones notes that the partly damaged $\overline{\Pi}$ is in fact “a $\overline{\Pi}$ plus a dark fiber.” See the discussion on col. 3 line 11 below.

1.17 $[\text{TE}]\text{H}\Upsilon\epsilon\text{Π}\rho\omega\Delta\text{T}'$

Horner reconstructs $[\epsilon]\text{H}\Upsilon\epsilon\text{Π}\rho\omega\Delta\text{T}'$ (p. 227), but there is certainly enough space in the lacuna for the reconstructions of Schmidt and Lefort: $[\text{TE}]$ -. See the discussion on col. 1 line 4B above.

1.19 $\varrho\text{I}]\text{T}\text{H}$

Jones notes “not at all visible, papyrus pushed together.”

$\text{Π}\omega\text{K}\ \text{Π}[\epsilon]$

Cf. Horner: $[\text{Π}]\omega\text{K}\ \text{Π}[\epsilon]$; Schmidt: $\text{Π}\omega\text{K}\ \text{Π}[\epsilon]$.

$\overline{\text{H}}\Upsilon\Delta\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon\varrho$

Both $\overline{\text{H}}$ and Υ are written on a now displaced fragment, which is clearly visible in the photographs.

1.20 $\text{ΠH}\ \text{O}\Upsilon\text{H}$

Cf. Schmidt’s $\ast\text{ΠH}$. The star (*) refers to the beginning of *Did* 11.1 in the standard chapter and verse divisions of the text of the *Didache*. Schmidt uses the siglum again for *Did* 12.1 at col. 3 line 10.

$\epsilon\text{T}\text{H}\text{N}\Delta\epsilon\text{I}'$

Schmidt notes “= sah. $\epsilon\text{T}\text{H}\Delta\epsilon\text{I}'$ ” (p. 86); Lefort, “Futur avec H redoublé” (p. 33). Horner transcribes “[$\text{I}\epsilon\text{I}$,” but the lost letters are clearly written on the manuscript. See the discussion on col. 1 line 21 above.

$\Delta\Lambda\text{H}\text{H}\text{N}''$

See the discussion on col. 1 line 6 above.

1.21 $\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{N}\epsilon\text{r}\Upsilon\alpha\text{r}\epsilon\text{Π}\ \overline{\text{H}}\Delta\alpha\text{O}\Upsilon$

As in the preceding two lines, Horner does not read still visible letters, and instead reconstructs “**ΕΤΑΝΕΡΨΔ[ΡΠΣΑΤΛ]ΟΘ**” (p. 227). His odd transcriptions of col. 1 lines 19–21 suggest that the letters were not visible when he studied the manuscript in 1924. But when Schmidt opened the glass plates in 1925, he apparently lifted loose papyrus fragments under which new text was recovered. Note, for example, the still displaced fragment, which is visible in the photographs and is discussed at col. 1 line 19 above. The papyrus material at col. 1 lines 19–21 is very lacunary. The apparent supra-lineation which can be seen in the photographs over the first **Π** and the second **Ψ** are in fact filmoplast strips.

1.22–23 **ΝΥ†ΣΒΩ**

Lefort’s **ΝΥ[†]ΣΒΩ** is too severe since the right crossbar of **†** is clearly visible in the photograph.

ΝΗΤΝϚ

Schmidt addresses the issue, “Hinter **ΝΗΤΝ** noch ein Zeichen, das einem **Ϛ** ähnelt, es scheint getilgt” (p. 86). Jones notes that “there is an **Ι** here . . . could be an attempt at **Ϛ**.” This is an anomalous stroke of ink, possibly a poorly written **Ϛ** which may have been ineffectively erased or simply blotted by the scribe. The error cannot be explained as *analepsis* (as in col. 1 line 8 and col. 1 line 10 above), but perhaps as a poorly written **Ϛ** which was then abandoned and more clearly rewritten, but in the next letter space. The scribe similarly abandons letters and traces of ink at col. 1 line 26.

1.26 **Π// ΠΞΣ**

Again, Schmidt addresses an anomaly: “Merkwürdig sind die beiden Striche // hinter **Π**” (p. 86). Apparently the scribe attempted to write the *nomen sacrum*, made an error on the initial cross strokes of **Ξ**, abandoned the preceding letter **Π** and the error, and started again in the following letter spaces with a properly executed *nomen sacrum* to close the line. A similar abandonment by the same scribe of an incorrectly executed letter is discussed in col. 1 line 23 above. A similar confused form for this *nomen sacrum* is found at col. 3 line 12 below.

1.28 **ΠΣΕΖΙ ΑΠΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΩΝ**

Horner observes that “τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου is translated ‘the word of the evangelion’” in Coptic (p. 227).

1.29 **ⲱⲗⲗⲁⲧⲛ**

Lefort standardizes with **ⲱⲗⲗⲁⲧⲛ**. The scribe alternates with **ⲱⲗⲗⲁⲧⲛ** (col. 3 line 11) and **ⲱⲗⲗⲁⲧⲛ** (col. 3 line 17; but here Lefort standardizes with the supralinear stroke **ⲱⲗⲗⲁⲧⲛ̅**).

1.29–2.1 The concluding scribal design (: : : : :) for column 1 which Schmidt interprets and transcribes as five Coptic letters (**ⲉⲉⲉⲉⲉ**), appears at first glance to be a visual cue to the reader that a scribal column has come to an end, but not a syntactically discrete section of text (it actually ends at the top of the next column at col. 2 line 1A). This is the only scribal design on the manuscript (but compare the two anomalous strokes of ink in col. 1 line 26 and the dot at col. 3 line 3). Lefort has a lengthy discussion, noting “Il est clair que ces signes ne peuvent marquer une finale de section, puisque la phrase continue à la colonne suivante,” and he suggests that a phrase in the Greek manuscript (δεχθήτω ὡς κύριος, *Did* 11.4) is missing at this point and might reflect a problem in the scribe’s exemplar, “l’indication d’un accident survenu au modèle transcrit” (p. 33). Schmidt sees the absent phrase as a secondary addition (p. 97). Lefort’s suggestion that the scribe’s parent text had a lacuna here can be expanded to other options, including the suggestion that the parent text already had the same scribal design at this point in the text (in which case the design indicates a lacuna or erasure in some previous manuscript and thus functions as such for our copyist). The coincidence of the design here, where a phrase from the Greek text is not found in the Coptic text, suggests that the placement of the design at the bottom of the column is accidental and that the function of the design is related to the missing phrase. The design is not necessarily at the bottom of a column in the scribe’s parent manuscript. Schmidt’s suggestion that the absent phrase is a *Fremdkörper* (secondary addition) implies that the Coptic preserves an earlier form of the *Didache* than does the Greek at this point (p. 97). But the Coptic text cannot support the theory that the phrase was added to later manuscripts and that its absence from this Coptic manuscript is textual evidence for its late inclusion into the textual history of the *Didache*. The *presence* (not the absence) of the missing phrase in earlier manuscripts is clearly indicated by the design. The design is an inter-scribal indicator that something is missing. It is not merely a design with a purely aesthetic function. The design is a negative witness for the inclusion of a phrase which was erased or damaged on a parent manuscript

(lacuna?), and so is absent from our Coptic text. This is not to suggest that the missing phrase is original. It is quite probably secondary, transposed from *Did* 11.2, but this manuscript is evidence for the presence of the phrase already in a pre-fifth-century Greek or Coptic exemplar. Its absence in conjunction with the scribal design demonstrates a conscious scribal awareness concerning the phrase. It was probably recognized as a secondary addition and thus was erased when encountered in various Greek (and versional) manuscripts. This particular manuscript provides evidence for a Coptic tradition, perhaps ultimately based upon a Greek manuscript in which the phrase was apparently *erased*. At this point in the argument Lefort's theory of a lacuna can properly come into play, though the base of evidence for the theory remains weak.

2.5 **ϵϥⲛⲏⲓ**; Lefort: **ϵϥⲛ[ⲛⲉ]ⲓ**; Schmidt: **ϵϥⲛⲏ[ϵ]ⲓ**.

Horner's **ϵϥⲛⲟⲩ** is misguided. Jones notes that "there is no room for this" second **ϵ**. Although a large lacuna occurs at this point, it appears that the second **ϵ** was never written. The scribe alternates between **ⲓ** (col. 1 lines 11, 13; col. 2 line 5), **ⲓ** (col. 1 line 14), and **ϵⲓ** (col. 1 line 20); cf. the qualitative **ⲛⲏⲟⲩ** at col. 1 line 29; col. 3 lines 11, 17.

2.6 **ϭⲩⲱⲗⲟϭ**

Schmidt reads **[ϭⲩⲱ]ⲗⲟ[ϭ]**, but the two doubtful letters have since been completely abraded, as Lefort transcribes and as Jones notes, "all gone."

2.7–8 **ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲙⲛⲧⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁϭ**

Lefort appears to suggest that **ⲙⲙⲁϭ** is a scribal error for **ⲙⲙⲁϥ** (p. 33), literally a transitive reflexive: "until he rests himself"; see Crum (p. 194).

2.16 **ⲡⲛⲁ**

Jones notes "there is another mark in the manuscript after the **ⲁ**. It is perhaps a **Ϸ**"; see the discussion on col. 1 line 4A above.

2.18 **ⲱⲁⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲁϥ**

There is an indistinguishable ink mark above and between these two words which Schmidt ("Erstes **ⲙ** in **ⲙⲙⲁϥ** übergeschrieben" [p. 88]) and Lefort ("Le 1^{er} **ⲙ** en surcharge" [p. 33]) interpret as a

supralinear correction (adding **ⲙ**), probably by the original scribe. Horner ignores the problem and simply reads **ⲱⲗⲗⲛ ⲙⲁϣ**.

2.19–20 **ⲧⲉⲧⲏⲛⲉϥⲟⲩⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲡⲣⲟⲩⲏⲧⲏϥ**

Only Schmidt hyphenates these two words, while there is no hyphen in the manuscript, which may possibly be another of his typesetter's errors. Jones notes that there is "nothing in ms."

2.20–21 Schmidt: **ⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ**

Horner: **ⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ**

Lefort: **ⲁⲉⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉⲓⲡⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ**.

This section of text has attracted much scholarly discussion. Horner sees the text as not corrupt, "Literally 'Ye will recognize the prophet, say what is the deficiency.' Tattam gives **ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ** *deficientes* Deut. xxxii.36. The Greek has 'shall be recognized the prophet and the false prophet'" (p. 228). Schmidt challenges Horner's explanation with the comments, "H[orner] liest **ⲁⲉ ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲉ ⲡⲁⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ** mit der Übersetzung 'what is the deficiency' oder 'whether there is deficiency.' Er beruft sich auf Peyron Lexic. **ⲉⲩⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ** 'deficientes' Deut 32.36, aber dort handelt es sich nur um einen Abschreiberfehler für das richtige **ⲉⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ**. Meines Erachtens muß **ⲟⲩ** als unbestimmter Artikel des folgenden Wortes aufgefaßt werden. Leider ist die Lesung von Z. 21 nicht sicher und damit auch nicht die Ergänzung. Ich glaube in dem 3. Buchstaben ein **ⲓ** zu erkennen, der ursprünglich **ⲏ** war. **ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ** ist meines Erachtens nur ein Schreibfehler für **ⲁⲩⲱ** 'und' des folgenden Satzes" (p. 88). Thus, Schmidt translates "... ob er ein wahrer (?) ist. Und jeder Prophet . . ." (p. 89). Lefort simplifies with "Dittographie par prononciation (?)" (p. 34). The unusual and careless form **ⲁⲩⲟⲩⲱ** (for **ⲁⲩⲱ**) demonstrates the amateur status of the scribe as a writer (Schmidt), rather than an independent reading which should be taken seriously in a study of the textual history of the *Didache* (so Horner).

2.24–25 **ⲟⲩⲡⲣⲟⲩⲏⲧⲏϥ ⲡⲏⲟⲩⲡⲉ**

The same phrase is written with **ⲡⲏⲛⲓⲟⲩⲩⲡⲉ** in col. 2 lines 27–28 (so Horner, p. 229).

2.26–27 **ⲉⲛⲉⲛϥⲓⲣⲓ**

Schmidt writes "**ⲉⲛ** am Schluß überflüssig, also Dittographie, da die folgende Zeile mit **ⲉⲛ** anfängt" (p. 88), thus, another case of

analepsis, this time a *dittography* in which letters at the end of line 26 are repeated at the beginning of line 27.

2.28 **ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ**

An error for **ΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ**. The error is simply due to the scribe's lack of attention, apparently *analepsis* with the following letters **ΗC** at the end of the same word. The scribe apparently did not notice the error. There is no indication of a correction.

2.29 **ΕΞΑΤΕΡ ΕΞΑΤΕΡ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΕΊΝ**

Schmidt observes "**ΕΞΑΤΕΡ** Dittographie, daher zu streichen. - **I** in **ΖΕΙΝ** übergeschreiben" (p. 88). As in the preceding line, there is no evidence of a correction of this most obvious *dittography*.

2.30–31 **ΕΨΕΡΜΕΤΡΗ**

Horner's **Η** in the odd **ΕΨΕΡΜΕ[C]ΤΡΗ** is apparently a typesetter's error (cf. col. 1 line 4A; col. 2 lines 19–20) reading **Η** instead of **Η**. Concerning the letters **-ΤΡΗ**, Jones notes that "all is more or less gone." The Fayyumic **ΜΕΤΡΗ** (Sah: **ΜΗΤΡΕ**; Gk: **μάρτυς**) is the most likely reconstruction of the damaged text. Horner's proposed **ΜΕΣΤΡΗ** is not explained, though the **C** is certainly possible in the lacuna. The lexical alteration between **μαρτύριον** (testimony) and **μυστήριον** (mystery) could have been initiated as a copyist error in a previous Greek manuscript, but it is impossible to determine which came first. Perhaps the easier reading of "having taught and testified to an orderly tradition in the church" (as supported by the Coptic text) is to be preferred over the enigmatic and classically problematic Greek phrase "though he enact a worldly mystery of the church" (Gk: **ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας**), as is translated by Kirsopp Lake.¹⁷ See the comments by Horner (p. 229), Schmidt (pp. 96–97), and Lake (p. 327); cf. the discussion on col. 2 lines 31–32 immediately below.

2.31–32 **Ν̄ΚΩC[ΜΕΙ]ΚΩΝ**

Horner reads **Ν̄ΞΩC[ΚΟCΜΙ]ΚΩΝ**, which has too many letters for the lacuna, and the doubtful **Ξ** can best be read as **Κ**. Schmidt's **Ν̄ΚΩC[ΜΕΙ]ΚΩΝ** is to be preferred: "Wegen des Raumes wohl **Ν̄ΚΩC[ΜΕΙ]ΚΩΝ** statt **Ν̄ΚΩC[ΜΙ]ΚΩΝ** zu ergänzen" (p. 88).

¹⁷ K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1977), p. 327.

ϣΝ ΤΕΚ' ΚΛΗΣΙΑ

If the scribe had meant to write “in your church,” then we would expect to read **ϣΝ ΤΕΚ' ΕΚΛΗΣΙΑ** (as in col. 1 line 7), but if the scribe had meant to write “in the church,” as apparently was desired here, then we would not expect to see the apostrophe: **ϣΝ ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ**.

3.1 ΝΕΨ†ϣΕΠ

Jones notes that the **ϣ** is “covered with a piece of papyrus.”

3.3 ΝΕΠΡΟΦΗΤΗΣ[.]

Schmidt read a dot after this last word in the line. Jones notes that the dot is “not there” and so it has apparently been abraded and lost between 1925 and 1993. Horner and Lefort apparently did not see it, or judged it to be an accidental anomalous trace of ink, which it probably was.

3.6 ΚΕΝΚΕΪΚΕΪ

Schmidt writes “**ΚΕΪΚΕΪ** Dittographie, lies **ΚΕΝΚΕΪ** aus **ΚΕ** und **ΝΚΕΪ** (= sah. **ΝΚΑ**)” (p. 90).

3.10 ΟΨΑΝ

Concerning Schmidt’s anomalous ***ΟΨΑΝ**, Jones is correct to suggest that the star (*) “probably marks the beginning of 12.1” in the standard divisions of the text of the *Didache*, just as it is also used by Schmidt for *Did* 11.1 (at col. 1 line 20).

3.11 ΝΔΕ [Ε]ΤΝΗΗΘ

a) Lefort standardizes the scribe’s particle **ΝΔΕ** (also at col. 1 line 16 as **ΝΔΕ**) to a simple **ΔΕ**; see Schmidt’s discussion (p. 83).

b) Horner and Lefort suggest that the second **Ε** was never in the manuscript, “dans la déchirure qui suit il ne semble pas y avoir place pour un second **Ε**” (Lefort, p. 34). Schmidt adds “Ms. richtig **ΝΔΕ [Ε]ΤΝΗΗΘ**” (p. 90). Jones also notes that there is “not enough room in gap for this [letter **Ε**].” The issue cannot be decided upon the width of this vertical lacuna alone, since this scribe’s **Ε** can vary in width. The current width of any lacuna may have increased or decreased due to structural changes in the papyrus sheet after the repair and conservation process. These conditions especially apply to heavily damaged manuscripts, as in the present case.

3.12 $\overline{\mathfrak{M}}\Pi\overline{\mathfrak{ZC}}$

Schmidt argues for the loss of $\mathfrak{M}$ in the lacuna, “s. Kol 1.26; es kann $\mathfrak{M}$ davor auch gefehlt haben” (p. 90). See discussion on col. 1 line 26 above. Lefort takes the more cautious approach, “ $\Pi\overline{\mathfrak{ZC}}$ précède d’une déchirure où il y a difficilement place pour $\overline{\mathfrak{M}}$ ” (p. 34). Jones verifies Lefort’s observation. In the photograph there does not appear to be enough space for the $\overline{\mathfrak{M}}$, but the narrow width of this long vertical lacuna might be unnaturally reduced at this point as a result of deterioration and the conservation process. See the comments made above (for col. 3 line 11) concerning arguments which are based upon lacuna width. Another possibility is that the scribe incorrectly wrote Π for $\overline{\mathfrak{M}}$ and that there was never a letter in the space which was subsequently lost to the lacuna.

3.13 $\overline{\mathfrak{N}}[\mathfrak{T}]\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\overline{\mathfrak{N}}$

The supralinear stroke over the final $\mathfrak{N}$ was read by Schmidt in 1925, but is no longer extant, as is noted by Jones, “no line here.” The papyrus material is heavily damaged in this general area.

 $\Delta\epsilon\Delta\omega\kappa\epsilon\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{Z}\epsilon\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$

One photo appears to show a supralinear stroke over this entire series of letters, but the supposed stroke is in fact a long, thin horizontal lacuna.

3.18 $\mathfrak{T}\epsilon\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}$

Schmidt writes “ $\mathfrak{T}\epsilon\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}$, lies $\mathfrak{T}\epsilon\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}$ oder $\mathfrak{T}\epsilon\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{H}$ ” (p. 90), perhaps to suggest a scribal transcriptional error of $\mathfrak{Z}$ for an original $\mathfrak{C}$.

 $\mathfrak{T}\Delta\epsilon\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}$

Crum (p. 412A) refers to Schmidt’s article and this manuscript as the sole example of the intransitive verb $\mathfrak{T}\Delta\epsilon\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{M}$ (to help).¹⁸

III. *Description of the Papyrus (External Features)*

The problems which are posed by this manuscript start to emerge, not least, with a consideration of its external features:

As can be reconstructed from the preserved edges, the sheet of papyrus which was seen in good condition by Lefort was originally 17 15/32 inches (44.4 cm.) in width. Its height was 11 1/2 inches

¹⁸ R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum* (Cairo, 1964), p. 64, and *Compléments morphologiques au dictionnaire de Crum* (Cairo, 1966), *locus in quo*.

(29.2 cm.). No seams (*kolleseis*) are present, and the horizontal fibers can be followed across the breadth of the sheet. There are three columns of writing, two on the *recto* with the top fibers running horizontally and one on the *verso* with the fibers running vertically.

The first column of writing is indented about $1 \frac{1}{8}$ inches (2.8 cm.) from the left edge (so line 26, where the edge is preserved). It contains twenty-nine lines of writing and averages about $8 \frac{7}{32}$ inches (20.9 cm.) in height. The top of the first line is $1 \frac{7}{16}$ inches (3.65 cm.) from the top edge. The bottom of the last line is $1 \frac{5}{8}$ inches (4.15 cm.) from the lower edge. The lines average about $6 \frac{7}{16}$ inches (16.7 cm.) in width—line 6 is $6 \frac{3}{32}$ inches (15.5 cm.) in width, line 12 is $6 \frac{25}{32}$ inches (17.2 cm.) in width, and line 29 is $6 \frac{5}{8}$ inches (16.9 cm.) in width. These figures reflect the fact that the first seven lines are the shortest, whereas starting with line 12 a longer length has been established. Altogether there is an average of about thirty-one characters per line.

The second column of text starts at an average of a little over 1 inch from the text of the left-hand column.¹⁹ It consists of thirty-two lines with a height of 9 inches (22.9 cm.). The bottom of the last line is $1 \frac{13}{32}$ (3.6 cm.) from the bottom of the page, which leaves the top of the first line at $1 \frac{3}{32}$ inches (2.7 cm.) from the (reconstructed) top of the page. The average width of the text is about $4 \frac{1}{4}$ inches (10.9 cm.)—line 8 is a long line of $4 \frac{11}{16}$ inches (11.9 cm.), while line 26 is a short line of $4 \frac{3}{32}$ inches (10.45 cm.). There is an average of slightly over twenty characters per line. The ends of the lines in column 2 average slightly more than 4 inches from the right-hand edge of the papyrus. The longest line, line 8, ends $4 \frac{1}{16}$ inches (10.3 cm.) from the edge.

On the *verso*, the third column consists of eighteen lines of writing with a height of $5 \frac{1}{16}$ inches (12.8 cm.). The bottom of the last line is $5 \frac{1}{2}$ inches (13.9 cm.) from the bottom of the papyrus, which leaves $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch (2.5 cm.) above the top of the first line. The average width of the text is a little over 4 inches. The shortest line is line 15 at $3 \frac{13}{16}$ inches (9.8 cm.); the longest line is line 16 at $4 \frac{5}{8}$ inches (11.7 cm.). There is an average of just under twenty characters per line. The text starts at an average of about $1 \frac{1}{16}$

¹⁹ A total of $1 \frac{5}{8}$ inches (4.15 cm.) separates the end of col. 1 line 1 and the beginning of col. 2 line 3, while there is only $\frac{11}{16}$ of an inch (1.8 cm.) between the end of col. 1 line 18 and the beginning of col. 2 line 20.

inches (2.7 cm.) from the left-hand edge (it gradually creeps toward the left: line 3 starts $1 \frac{3}{16}$ inches [3 cm.] from the left-hand edge; line 12 starts $1 \frac{1}{16}$ inches [2.7 cm.] from the left edge; line 18 starts $\frac{15}{16}$ of an inch [2.4 cm.] from the left edge).

The height of the individual letters varies from .2 cm. (the **Π** in the abbreviation towards the end of col. 1 line 11; the **Σ** in col. 1 line 5 is .3 cm. high, as is also the initial **Ν** in col. 3 line 16) to 1.1 cm. (the **Φ** in col. 1 line 27 and col. 2 line 4).

Discussion of this Coptic papyrus has struggled in particular with the nature of this sheet. The different sizes of the columns, the large space on the right-hand side of the *recto*, and the continuation of the writing in a half column on the *verso* have proven to provoke further thought. It is to these seemingly mundane questions that we now turn.

IV. *The Nature and History of the Manuscript (Analysis of External Features)*

Some misconceptions with regard to the manuscript can hopefully be removed by the preceding description. For example, it should be clear that there are three columns of text, not two.²⁰

Other features seem just as obvious, though in the past there has been confusion with regard to them. For example, Schmidt implied that there were three stages of writing in the manuscript.²¹ He noted that col. 1 lines 1–14 were written in “smaller letters with a thinner ductus,” whereas after the word **ΔΛΗΝ** the writing is larger and thicker. According to Schmidt, the ductus is even stronger and the ink is darker in column 2, and it continues this way in column 3. A reexamination of the manuscript reveals that the color of the ink in the latter part of column 1 is the same as that in columns 2 and 3. Further, there is no significant difference in the ductus between these parts. The conclusion seems obvious that the manuscript was written not in three stages, but rather in two: 1) col. 1 lines 1–14, up to **ΔΛΗΝ**²²; and 2) col. 1 line 14, last few words through the end of the text.

²⁰ Contra W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), p. 112. This misunderstanding derives perhaps from a statement by Lefort (1952), vol. 1, p. x.

²¹ Schmidt (1925), p. 82.

²² The second and third quotation marks are by the second hand.

There are some corrections in the first part of the text, but none of these displays the clearly darker ink and the broader pen of the second part.²³ Thus, there is no evidence that at the second stage of writing the scribe retraced or corrected anything which had been written during the first stage. The second part of the manuscript is generally written with slightly larger characters, but since there is no further significant difference between the two parts with respect to the lettering, probably the same scribe was at work in both parts. Between the sections, however, the scribe did change both the pens and the mixture of ink. It is hard to say if this alone implies that some lapse of time had occurred between the writing of the two sections (see below). This point leads to the question of the origin and nature of the manuscript.

The first editor, Horner, wrote that "Mr Bell of the British Museum suggests that the papyrus may be a casual extract."²⁴ Schmidt attempted to be more precise and scientific by stating that the papyrus is "a scrap piece [*Makulaturfetzen*] from a roll of papyrus, which a scribe covered with his accomplishments" and thereby sought to categorize the manuscript as a *Schreiberübung* (scribe's exercise).²⁵ Schmidt justified this claim by pointing to signs of carelessness in the writing of the manuscript (dittography in col. 2 line 29 and col. 3 line 6; erasures in col. 1 lines 8, 10; suprascript additions in col. 1 lines 7, 9 and col. 2 lines 18, 29; and unusual spacing between letters in col. 1 line 6).

Schmidt's theory perhaps found some support in his view that the piece of papyrus *hinten und vorn intakt erhalten ist* (is preserved towards the back and towards the front) and thus "never had a larger compass."²⁶ Schmidt himself, nevertheless, also spoke of the piece as part of a papyrus roll.²⁷ He apparently did not mean that this was an inscribed roll which contained more of the *Didache* but, rather, that this was a leftover piece of a roll which a scribe used for exercise.

The stage at which this sheet was separated from the roll has since become controversial.²⁸ Jean-Paul Audet suggested that, because it is

²³ Mirecki, in a conversation, convincingly identified the two erasures as the product of *analepsis* (the same combination of letters as in the previous line).

²⁴ Horner (1924), p. 225.

²⁵ Schmidt (1925), p. 82.

²⁶ Schmidt (1925), p. 81.

²⁷ Schmidt (1925), p. 81.

²⁸ There is also a possibility that this sheet was never attached to a roll. Yet

difficult to explain why the Coptic scribe should have begun to write in the middle of *Did* 10.3, one should suppose that there was once at least one column of writing to the left of column 1. In the photograph which was available to Audet, he pointed to a small black speck at the extreme left of col. 1 lines 8–9 as perhaps all that remained of this previous column. He stated that according to all appearances the piece of papyrus is the extreme right end of a roll.²⁹ This point of view, which contrasts sharply with that of Schmidt, is apparently followed by Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier,³⁰ while Kurt Niederwimmer has mentioned marks to the left of lines 25–26 as possible support for Audet's theory.³¹ In the 1987 catalogue of Coptic literary manuscripts which have been acquired by the British Library since 1906, it is asserted as a straightforward *fact* that the sheet is not only "from the innermost end of a roll" but also that "a few letter traces" from a column which precedes column 1 are visible (it is not, however, stated precisely where these "traces of an earlier column" are found). This column is given the designation "column α."³²

If this perspective (i.e., that the sheet is the last page of a roll and that traces of a previous column are visible) is correct, it would mean that Schmidt's understanding of the origin of the text must be thoroughly revised. It could also add more credence to a theory which recently was propounded by Clayton Jefford and Stephen Patterson. Following the view that the sheet was once the end of a roll which contained the *Didache*, they postulate that the different sizes of the

"sheets were immediately pasted together to form rolls," and "the manufacturer's and retailer's unit is the made-up roll"; see E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (Princeton, 1968), p. 4. "From such a roll pieces could be cut to write a letter or invitation" (p. 4). It has been thought that sheets for some codices were not cut from rolls but were specially manufactured in the requisite size, but Turner has argued against this theory; see the references and discussion in E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 45–46 (esp. p. 50 for his argument against this theory). James M. Robinson, however, seems to accept this view in his assumption that there was a "watershed" when codices were no longer made from rolls; see Robinson, "The Future of Papyrus Codicology," in R.McL. Wilson (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 42–43. In a more recent publication, however, Robinson states that "it is not at present known" if the codices which are used as evidence for the manufacturing process really support the hypothesis; see Robinson, "Introduction," in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices: Introduction* (Leiden, 1984), p. 62.

²⁹ J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), p. 31 with n. 1. Audet mentions that he worked from a photograph of the manuscript (p. 29 n. 4), though he also states here that he once saw the original.

³⁰ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 113.

³¹ K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), p. 40 n. 4.

³² Layton (1987), p. 236.

columns can be explained as the result of the scribe's desire to leave a handhold at the end of the roll. Further, they submit that the ending point of the text reflects the actual conclusion of a recension of the *Didache* which is older than the (longer) recension that is preserved in the eleventh-century Greek manuscript, which is the recension that is reflected in the *Apostolic Constitutions*.³³ The consequences for the interpretation of the *Didache* are considerable: everything after *Did* 12.2a (i.e., the rest of chapter 12 and the entirety of chapters 13–16) is a secondary addition to the text.

While it must remain possible that the marks to the left of col. 1 lines 25–26 are parts of preserved letters, an examination of these marks has led me to the conclusion that they are more probably only extraneous ones, such as are found elsewhere in the manuscript (e.g., below the beginning of the last line of column 1). These marks are simply not readily identifiable remnants of specifiable characters. It would furthermore be very remarkable if both Schmidt and Horner had overlooked the traces of a previous column which the catalogue of manuscripts so confidently asserts. Moreover, the edges of the papyrus are indeed in part very well preserved. It does not look as if this sheet was cut from a roll after it had been written upon. Nor are there traces of glue on the edge of the papyrus to suggest that this sheet was once glued to a sheet to its left.³⁴ There is thus no reason (apart from the peculiar placement of the columns, which will be discussed below) to assume that this sheet was from the end of a roll.

One specific problem with the suggestion of a handhold as the explanation for the different sizes of the columns is that column 3 is written immediately upon the back of where the supposed handhold should be. Patterson explains that, according to his view, the scribe initially had planned a handhold and therefore penned a smaller column 2, but since a certain amount of text remained when the

³³ C.N. Jefford and S.J. Patterson, "A Note on *Didache* 12.2a (Coptic)," *SecCent* 7 (1989–90), pp. 65–75. Cf., however, another developmental schema which is presented in C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989), p. 21 n. 60. The view that this sheet is the last part of a roll is promoted also by Audet (1958), p. 31; this possibility is mentioned by Niederwimmer (1989), p. 40. The size of the postulated handhold seems rather large and needs to be documented with similar examples.

³⁴ The only glue that is apparent on the manuscript appears as little dabs which were added to hold the manuscript in place as it was mounted (these are seen as slightly darker patches). In a few instances, such as on the reverse of the initial piece of papyrus under column 2, some of this glue has spread onto the glass (evidence of the modern origin of the glue).

scribe came to the bottom of the page, the concept of a handhold was abandoned and the text was written on the back.³⁵ This view is perhaps implied in Jefford and Patterson's written statement, "To avoid both the trouble and the expense either of attaching an extra sheet of papyrus to the present roll or of beginning a new roll altogether, the scribe turned to the *verso* and recorded the remaining text in a short column there."³⁶ While this explanation deserves praise for its attempt to use codicological information to explain the unusual features of the papyrus, it is nevertheless puzzling, not least because there is ample room for the third column on the *recto* (see the measurements above). Indeed, a third column of 5 cm. in width not only could have contained the "remaining text" but could also have left a standard margin of 2.65 cm. on either side.³⁷ Furthermore, if the scribe initially wanted to leave a handhold, why would this amount of extra text have stopped those plans? Any space which was desired for a handhold could have easily been created to the left of column 3.

If there are thus at least some problems with the view that this sheet of papyrus is the last page of a roll which contained the *Didache*, one place to search for a better solution is the continually amassing body of data and knowledge concerning ancient papyri. In the light of this work the dimensions of the papyrus would now seem to be explained quite easily as representative of something which is quite different than the end of a roll. The dimensions are perfect for a double-leaf (a sheet) which was once cut from a roll and intended for a codex.³⁸ The accumulated data would thus indicate that this piece of papyrus was indeed cut from a roll, but it was cut from a roll which was in preparation to become sheets (double-leaves) which were intended for codices.³⁹ In the days of Horner and Schmidt,

³⁵ This explanation was offered in a conversation at Phoenix, AZ on 24 October 1993 during the semi-annual meeting of the Westar Institute.

³⁶ Jefford and Patterson (1989-90), p. 67.

³⁷ This agrees with a remark by Schmidt (1925), 82: "Es wäre auch gar nicht nötig gewesen, die Rückseite noch mit Text zu versehen, da Raum genug für diesen Teil auf der Vorderseite vorhanden gewesen wäre."

³⁸ Pages of half the size of this sheet of papyrus are quite common; see the list in Turner (1977), pp. 14-22, 102-85. It is incorrect to say that the Coptic papyrus of the *Didache* is "of an unusually large format"; so Schöllgen (1991), p. 88.

³⁹ On the assumption of this procedure for the preparation of codices, see Turner (1977), pp. 43-54. Aspects of the discovery are reviewed in Robinson (1978). Mirecki informs me that among the Coptic papyri at the University of Michigan he has seen a magical codex (PMich inv. 593) which is wrapped in two sheets of papyri that are of the identical size of the sheets in the codex itself. Presumably these sheets were left over from the stacks of sheets which were intended for use in the codex.

knowledge of the ancient Christian codex was minimal.⁴⁰ Since that time it has become evident that the codex was clearly the format of choice for the ancient Christians.⁴¹ Lefort already had written, "L'usage de rouleaux de papyrus vierge après le V^e s. est plus que problématique."⁴² Indeed, any Christian usage of a roll in the fifth century (other than for letters or documents) would be an exception which would demand an explanation.⁴³ Given the advance of knowledge in this area, it is perhaps more appropriate to ask why this piece of papyrus should be considered anything but a double-leaf.

The view that this piece of papyrus was originally cut to be a double-leaf receives a considerable amount of further support from the size of column 1 (particularly the first part). It is placed on the sheet in such a way that it is the perfect size for a column in a codex with this size of double-leaves. If the sheet were to be folded

⁴⁰ Turner (1968) writes, "Firm ground for a history of the development and date of the codex form has been won only slowly and painfully. . . . For long it was held as a dogma that codices did not exist before the fourth century after Christ, and that papyrus made up in codex form was a freak . . ." (p. 10).

⁴¹ For the period before the date of the Coptic papyrus, see the quantitative data which is compiled in C.H. Roberts and T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London, 1983), pp. 38–44. These investigators are concerned to emphasize that "there could not be a greater contrast in format with the non-Christian book of the second century" (p. 42), i.e., Christians were using the codex while non-Christians were still using the roll. The focus of the authors is upon the earliest period, and their goal is to cover manuscripts which were written until ca. 400 C.E. (p. 38). Roberts and Skeat do indicate, however, that (according to the evidence of all preserved Greek manuscripts) in the fifth century only eleven percent of even *non-Christian* manuscripts were still being written in rolls (p. 37). Similar numbers are found in the older computations which are reviewed by C.C. McCown, "Codex and Roll in the New Testament," *HThR* 34 (1941), pp. 223–27. See also the sorted index in J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976), pp. 409–13. On the basis of the evidence which has been collected thus far, a fifth-century (Coptic) Christian roll would apparently be a considerable exception to the rule. Cf. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältniss zur Literatur mit Beiträgen zur Textgeschichte des Theokrit, Catull, Properz und anderer Autoren* (Berlin, 1882), p. 121. Recent theories on the origin of the ancient Christian preference for the codex are found in H.Y. Gamble, "The Pauline Corpus and the Early Christian Book," in W.S. Babcock (ed.), *Paul and the Legacies of Paul* (Dallas, 1990), pp. 265–80, 392–98; I.M. Resnick, "The Codex in Early Jewish and Christian Communities," *JRH* 17 (1992), pp. 1–17.

⁴² Lefort (1952), vol. 1, p. xv.

⁴³ Mohamed A. Hussein confidently writes, "From its very inception the Coptic book took the codex form which had already been largely determined by the Christian literature in Greek"; see Hussein, *Origins of the Book* (Greenwich, 1972), pp. 85–86. It is furthermore no accident that the late fourth-century Greek fragment of the *Didache* from Oxyrhynchus is from a codex. The inquisitive reader might consult van Haelst (1976) to search for fifth-century Christian rolls (p. 418, see index s.v. "volumen"), and then compare the number that is found with the number of papyri which van Haelst (p. 419) dates to the fourth-fifth centuries (= 53), fifth century (= 111), and fifth-sixth centuries (= 86).

in half, the right-hand margin of this column (from the end of the writing to the fold) would leave ample room for binding purposes.⁴⁴

At the second stage of writing the scribe continued with approximately this same width of column until the bottom of column 1. By the time of the initiation of the second column the scribe quite clearly had completely abandoned the entire conception of this sheet as a (practice) double-leaf for a codex—the next column is set at approximately the same distance from the first as the first is from the left edge of the sheet, and the writing begins noticeably higher.⁴⁵ The third column again starts at approximately the same distances from the left edge and the top of the sheet. The secondary conception of this double-leaf as a loose sheet of papyrus has now clearly emerged. It should be emphasized at this point that the third column is in actuality of essentially the same width as the second. Here Schmidt's statement, "the columns are of completely different length and breadth,"⁴⁶ is potentially misleading. It thus seems that at the beginning of the second phase of writing, the scribe wanted to practice the narrower (and taller) column size which is found in columns 2 and 3, but, out of respect for the previously recorded text, chose not to initiate the new column size until the top of the next column had been reached.

Under the assumption that this theory is approximately right, one may ask a new series of questions about the origin of the writing on the papyrus. If, as is indicated by the size of the sheet and by the size and placement of the first column, this piece of papyrus was originally understood as a double-leaf, was it initially inscribed for inclusion in a codex? According to current theory about how a codex was written, the sheets were individually inscribed before they were bound into the codex.⁴⁷ If this was the case, then the problem with the view that the initial writing on this sheet was originally intended

⁴⁴ As Turner (1977) indicates, complete comparative data on how the scribe arranged a page (margins) is yet to be compiled (p. 25).

⁴⁵ It should not be objected that the space between columns 1 and 2 is not large enough for binding. There would have been plenty of room for binding if the scribe, upon having reached column 2, still had the conception of a double-leaf in mind. Instead, the scribe starts the column approximately at the geometric middle of the breadth of the sheet. The objection of Jefford and Patterson (1989–90) that the sheet would form an exceptionally large page for a codex (p. 67 n. 11) is defused by the notion that this sheet was originally conceived to be a double-leaf.

⁴⁶ Schmidt (1925), p. 82.

⁴⁷ See Turner (1977), pp. 73–75; cf. Robinson (1978), pp. 28–43.

for a codex is that the writing starts on the *recto*, whereas if the sheet had been intended for a codex, the writing would have started on the right-hand side of the *verso*. That a scribe would make such a mistake is unlikely.⁴⁸ An adequate explanation for why the writing begins on the left-hand side of the *recto* is provided, however, by the view that this sheet presents a scribal exercise⁴⁹—the scribe naturally chose to start the exercise on the side of the papyrus which showed the horizontal fibers (a tradition which was inherited from the usage of the roll). The suggestion that this sheet was employed for scribal practice also most appropriately explains why the writing on this double-leaf begins in mid-sentence. The scribe most likely started to copy a page which began much as the current page begins.⁵⁰

If, as is indicated by the different sizes of columns, the conception of the piece of papyrus changed somewhat during the writing, one may ask whether the papyrus did eventually become a roll again.

⁴⁸ One possibility, however, is that the left-hand side of the double-leaf was intended as “a replacement page for the codex”; so the suggestion which is reported in Jefford and Patterson (1989–90), p. 67 n. 11. This possibility would allow the writing to begin where it does and would imply that the right-hand side would eventually be trimmed and discarded. Yet it seems unlikely that the papyrus would be cut *after* being inscribed. Another potential problem with this solution is that the left-hand margin of the first page does not leave much room to form a stub with which to insert the page into a codex (the leaf could, however, be glued onto the stub of the old page).

⁴⁹ The notion that the sheet preserves a scribal exercise is promoted by Schmidt (1925), p. 82; Niederwimmer (1989), p. 41 n. 9; Mirecki.

⁵⁰ Some uncertainty remains, however, because of the lack of preservation of the upper left corner and the letters which supposedly once were there, as well as because of the fact that the meaning of the fourth word is far from certain. If this word refers to the Scete desert, as Schmidt suggests, then the first line could be some sort of title; see Schmidt (1925), p. 85 n. to line 1. The question about why this sheet may have been left over perhaps receives an answer from a noticeable crease which runs diagonally (along with several lighter ones) across the right-hand corner of the *recto*. If the fold is ancient, as it appears to be, then the sheet might have been rejected for inclusion in the codex because it had accidentally been creased.

Yet another explanation for this piece of papyrus has been offered by A. Adam, “Erwägungen zur Herkunft der Didache,” *ZKG* 68 (1957), p. 3. Adam contends that it is part of an initial translation which was recorded onto a piece of scrap papyrus that was intended to serve as the basis for a later copy. A similar view has been attributed (in my judgment, incorrectly) to Schmidt, viz., that the papyrus directly records the work of the translator; so Audet (1958), p. 32 n. 2, in a comment upon Schmidt’s article. Schmidt did state that the Coptic presents a late translation, but he also immediately spoke of the manuscript as an *Abschrift* (copy), not a *Niederschrift* (writing down); see Schmidt (1925), p. 93. Adam (1957) seems to have understood the import of Schmidt’s comments and consequently is actually arguing against Schmidt at this point: “Nicht die Abschrift einer koptischen Vorlage ist anzunehmen, sondern . . .” (p. 3).

Horner states that the British Museum received the manuscript "in a flattened condition."⁵¹ This statement implies that the piece had been rolled up until it was "flattened" in recent times. The current state of the manuscript provides no clear evidence that can confirm or negate this implication. The right-hand edge of the papyrus is, however, in a slightly better state of preservation than is the left-hand edge, which would be the exposed end if the sheet were rolled up.⁵² Furthermore, the placement of the third column would also be amenable to the view that the scribe intended to use the sheet as a small roll (the third column would be in a protected position). It is thus possible, though it cannot be confirmed, that this sheet was rolled up after having been inscribed.

The preceding remarks have essentially clarified the nature of the Coptic papyrus of the *Didache*. The sheet was originally a double-leaf (once doubtlessly cut from a roll), though at a fairly early point in the inscription of the papyrus this understanding of the sheet was abandoned. It remains to be seen if anything more about the precise history of the inscription of the papyrus can be determined.

In the discussion above, the question of whether there was a lapse of time between the first and second stages of writing was not addressed. Three observations seem to speak in favor of a greater lapse of time:⁵³

1) The scribe not only changed pens between the two stages of writing, but also changed the mixture of ink, as is clearly shown by the difference in coloring. This seems to speak for a lapse of a greater amount of time.

2) During the first stage of writing the scribe apparently was unconcerned with the decision to stop the transcription in the middle of the line (see line 14), but during the second stage the scribe displays three instances in which there was a desire to end with a full line (in col. 1 line 29 purely decorative marks were added for a single purpose, i.e., to complete the line; in col. 2 line 32 and col. 3 line 18 the text noticeably ends with a complete word right at the end of the line).

⁵¹ Horner (1924), p. 225.

⁵² Lefort (1952) remarked that the only serious damage which he saw in 1923 was to the upper left corner (vol. 1, p. x).

⁵³ Schmidt (1925) also speaks of the manuscript as having been recorded "wahrscheinlich auch in verschiedenen Etappen" (p. 82).

3) At the second stage of writing the scribe apparently wanted to practice a size of column which was noticeably narrower and taller than the size which had been practiced during the first stage.⁵⁴ The best explanation for this state of affairs is that the scribe intended to practice a different column size as part of a plan to write on different sized papyri. The changed situation implies a lapse of time.

The identification of two distinct stages of writing seems to supply some evidence that this text is not the result of scribal exercises which were completely devoid of interest in the content. At least the scribe came back to the same text after some lapse of time and continued with the work.⁵⁵ The view that the papyrus presents a writing exercise with no concern for the content is further drawn into doubt by the fact that the first stage of writing ends at the close of a unit of sense. The scribe thus has at least some interest in the content of the text. Another sign of the scribe's interest in the sheet as a record of the text is the fact that as the writing begins again for the second time there is no immediate change in column size. Rather, column 1 is continued in approximately the same size as is the first part of the column. It is only at the beginning of column 2 that there is a change to the smaller column size which the scribe apparently wanted to practice.⁵⁶ These observations seem to disclose a respect for this sheet as a production in its own right. The same is implied by the "perfect" ending at the end of a line in column 3. The consequence which arises from these observations is that there is some truth to the description of the text which considers this papyrus to be a "casual extract" and not merely a mechanical scribal exercise.

The question as to why the text ends where it does may now be addressed. As was mentioned above, a provocative suggestion is that the ending of the Coptic text reflects the actual conclusion of an

⁵⁴ Birt (1882) does, however, indicate that "often one and the same papyrus displays columns of differing width" (p. 277, see the examples here). It would need to be asked how many examples there are of papyri which have columns of different height.

⁵⁵ The judgments of Schmidt (1925)—"Bei dieser Sachlage werden wir nicht voraussetzen können, daß irgendwelche Sorgfalt auf die Abschrift verwendet ist" (p. 82)—and in Bihlmeyer (1970)—"Der Text ist im allgemeinen unglaublich verderbt durch den liederlichen Abschreiber überliefert" (p. vi)—are clearly too harsh. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the scribe used more than two pens, contra the implication of Schmidt (1925), p. 82; cf. in correction of Schmidt also Jefford and Patterson (1989–90), p. 68 n. 13.

⁵⁶ Another possibility is that, at the second stage of writing, the manuscript from which the scribe was copying had the smaller sized column.

early recension of the *Didache*. This suggestion has been evaluated above from a codicological perspective and may now be considered upon the basis of an analysis of the disposition of the *Didache*. This portion of the *Didache* should be outlined as follows:

- Reception of traveling teachers (11.1–2)
- Reception of (traveling) apostles and prophets (11.3–12)
 - Introduction (11.3)
 - Reception of traveling apostles (11.4–6)
 - Treatment of prophets generally (11.7–12)
- Reception of Christians who arrive (12.1–13.7)
 - General principle (12.1)
 - Treatment of the traveler (12.2)
 - Treatment of Christians who want to settle (12.3–13.7)
 - Normal Christians (12.3–5)
 - True prophets (13.1–7)
 - Excursus: support of true teachers (13.2)
 - Support of prophets in the community with the tithe (13.3–7)

The Coptic scribe has the material up to the point of the discussion of the settlement of Christians. Here the text ends on the positive note of help for the traveler, and that completes the entire previous (artificially created) section on the reception of travelers.

The readiest explanation for the ending of the Coptic text is provided by the conclusion of the first stage of writing, which stands as a parallel—the scribe perceived the end of a unit of sense. The assumption that the scribe's copy of the *Didache* actually ended with *Did* 12.2a, though such cannot be absolutely dismissed, is thus an unnecessary and excessive extrapolation.⁵⁷ The following two points speak against this assumption:

- 1) There are no decorations which mark the end of the text.
- 2) The proposed elimination of all of the material after *Did* 12.2a is a rather radical solution to the open question of the disposition of the *Didache*.⁵⁸ It does not really remove many “difficulties” in the

⁵⁷ Pace Jefford and Patterson (1989–90); S.J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma, 1993), pp. 173–77.

⁵⁸ Some progress toward a greater appreciation of the disposition of the *Didache* has been achieved by G. Schöllgen, “Die *Didache* als Kirchenordnung: Zur Frage des Abfassungszweckes und seinen Konsequenzen für die Interpretation,” *JAC* 29 (1986), pp. 5–26. On the disposition of this writing, some authors argue for the essential literary integrity of the writing; see P. Nautin, “La composition de la ‘Didachê’

logical flow of the text,⁵⁹ and it hardly leaves an adequate ending for the writing.⁶⁰

It cannot be determined whether the scribe had some specific reason to copy precisely (and only) this section of the *Didache*.⁶¹ But in view of the discussion above, it also should not be doubted that the scribe was aware of the material which was being copied.

et son titre," *RHR* 78 (1959), pp. 196–99, 210; P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1978), pp. 726–30, 735. One problem in judging the literary nature of the *Didache* has been the lack of critical attention which has been given to the genre of "church order." I have suggested elsewhere that the *Book of Elchasai* is better understood (contra the general opinion), not as an apocalypse, but as a church order. This writing can be dated to the year C.E. 116–17, and thus could contain valuable comparative information for the study of the *Didache*. This thesis was argued in my paper, "The Genre of the *Book of Elchasai*" (Chicago, 1988). The perspective is incorporated into my general presentation of the *Book of Elchasai*, which will be included in a forthcoming volume on apocalypses in R.W. Funk, *New Testament Apocrypha* (Sonoma, forthcoming).

⁵⁹ Jefford and Patterson (1989–90) accept Niederwimmer's redactional analysis and add an additional layer of redaction (pp. 69–71); see also Patterson (1993), pp. 173–74; different, however, Jefford (1989), p. 21 n. 60. For a critique of the argument of Niederwimmer, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus im Traditionsbereich der *Didache*," *WSt NF* 11 (1977), pp. 145–67, see K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), p. 23 n. 83.

⁶⁰ Cf. the more convincing case that 11.1–2 is the original conclusion of the *Didache* which is offered by Audet (1958), pp. 110–11. In general the suggestion by Jefford and Patterson is reminiscent of Audet's well-known compositional theory (pp. 110–12), and it is consequently open to most of the objections which have been raised against Audet's theory; see esp. Nautin (1959), pp. 193–99. Further, Audet himself affirmed "the perfect unity of style" which exists between 1.1–11.2 and 11.3–16.8 (p. 113). Some of the arguments which Audet makes, however, could also be used to support the view of Jefford and Patterson (e.g., the argument which is offered on the basis of the *Stichometry* of Nicéphorus).

⁶¹ It is possible that the scribe saw a relevance for the text in terms of the contemporary monastic revolution. This would explain why the text ends where it does. The potential of Manichaean usage also needs to be contemplated. A contemporary relevance of the passage seems to have been envisioned in the text which is reflected in the Ethiopic *Senodos*, which includes the rest of chapter 12 and all of chapter 13; see G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles or Canones Ecclesiastici* (London, 1904), pp. 193–94, with the variants on pp. 401–402. For the usage of the *Didache* in Pachomian circles, see Lefort (1952), vol. 1, p. xiii. But note also here the remarks by Gero (1977), p. 70. The Ethiopic, however, might well derive ultimately from Coptic; see Bausi (1990), who speaks of the culturally "certainly Coptic origin" of this larger section of the *Senodos* (p. 23; though still the excerpt from the *Didache* might form an exception), and Niederwimmer (1989), p. 41 n. 11. Mirecki, on the other hand, informs me that (following Schmidt) he discounts any relationship between the contents of the text (i.e., rules for traveling prophets) and the function of the manuscript.

V. Textual Character of the Coptic Papyrus of the *Didache*

While the first editor of the Coptic fragment of the *Didache* (i.e., Horner) made no comment about the manuscript's text-critical value, in the following year Schmidt disparaged its quality by stating that the Coptic reflects a liturgical reworking of the text.⁶² This perspective was readily accepted by certain scholars, for example, by A. Neppi Modona.⁶³ In 1952 Lefort even went so far as to state that one could legitimately doubt whether there was anything solid which one could conclude from this private transcription, either about the Coptic translation or about the underlying Greek.⁶⁴

The text-critical value of the Coptic text has, however, also found its defenders. Erik Peterson, in particular, has argued that the Coptic teaches that one must be skeptical of the leading Greek manuscript, which he thought reflected a "late recension."⁶⁵ The conclusion that Peterson consequently drew is that for most (other) sections of the *Didache* one cannot even think about a reconstruction of the original text.⁶⁶ A similar tendency to give greater preference to the readings in the Coptic is found also in some other recent works.⁶⁷

While the variants of the Coptic have been listed⁶⁸ and subjected to sporadic discussions,⁶⁹ what is surprisingly still absent from apparently all of the literature on the *Didache* is a stemma of the witnesses to, and thus a comprehensive theory on, the text of the *Didache*.⁷⁰ Such a *desideratum* will not be supplied in this article either. For such

⁶² Schmidt (1925), p. 93. The three "amens" at the end of the prayers formed the initial basis for this judgment.

⁶³ A. Neppi Modona, "Nuovo contributo dei papiri per la conoscenza di antichi testi cristiani," *Bilychnis* 27 (1926), p. 172.

⁶⁴ Lefort (1952), vol. 1, p. xiv. Niederwimmer (1989) has continued this tradition by writing, "The role of the Coptic text of the Did. is to be compared with that of the so-called D-text of the New Testament: one must distinguish a few old readings from numerous later additions and changes" (pp. 42–43).

⁶⁵ E. Peterson, "Ueber einige Probleme der Didache-Ueberlieferung," *RivAC* 27 (1951), pp. 66–67.

⁶⁶ Peterson (1951), p. 37.

⁶⁷ See Gero (1977), who argues for the authenticity of the additional prayer; J.W. Riggs, "From Gracious Table to Sacramental Elements: The Tradition-History of Didache 9 and 10," *SecCent* 4 (1984), p. 88; the text in Wengst (1984).

⁶⁸ See Bihlmeyer (1970), pp. xviii–xix; Audet (1958), pp. 33–34.

⁶⁹ E.g., Schmidt (1925); K. Niederwimmer, "Textprobleme der Didache," *WSI NF* 16 (1982), pp. 114–30; Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 42–43.

⁷⁰ As a consequence of this situation, Schöllgen (1991) has essentially urged an abandonment of the attempt to reach back toward the original text of the *Didache* (p. 94). He calls for an *editio maior* that would simply print the various "recensions" (i.e., in this case, all preserved textual witnesses) alongside one another. This posi-

a task one would need to tackle seriously, not least, the larger question of the textual nature of the leading Greek manuscript. Some advances toward the evaluation of the Coptic text may, however, at least be attempted.

The question of the text-critical value of the Coptic text should be subdivided into its constituent parts. Of these there seem to be three: 1) the quality of the work of the scribe of the preserved Coptic manuscript; 2) the quality of the underlying original Coptic translation (and its transformation into other dialects); and 3) the quality of the underlying Greek text.

With respect to the first issue (i.e., the work of the scribe), there is some reason for hope in the advancement of the evaluation simply because previously published opinions about the quality of the scribe's preserved work have diverged to such a considerable degree. Was the Coptic written without *irgendwelche Sorgfalt* (any care)⁷¹ by a *liederlichen Abschreiber* (terrible copyist),⁷² or was it written *d'une écriture très soignée* (in a very careful hand)?⁷³ The truth of the matter seems to lie somewhere in between. The hand is obviously an experienced one, and the script can be characterized as typical for a Coptic scribe (it tends toward a bookish style).⁷⁴ Even Schmidt argued that the mechanical work of the scribe excludes any conscious changes to the text.⁷⁵ In sum, for text-critical purposes the quality of the scribe's work should be considered as good.

With respect to the second issue (i.e., the original Coptic translation), it is to be asked whether the translation is *assez libre* (very free)⁷⁶

tion is too extreme. Peterson (1951) accurately describes the state of affairs: "An eine Rekonstruktion des Originaltextes der Didache werden wir bei dem uns zur Verfügung stehenden Material nicht denken können, aber das schliesst nichts aus, dass wir echte Textverderbnis im Bryennios Manuscript zu heilen suchen, offenbare Glossen aus dem Text entfernen und uns über die verwickelte Text-Ueberlieferung Rechenschaft zu geben suchen" (p. 37). The text-critical task has simply yet to be performed (or because of the lack of a stemma one might say "even attempted") in a thorough and convincing manner. An opinion which is similar to that of Peterson is found in Vielhauer (1978), p. 734.

⁷¹ Schmidt (1925), p. 82.

⁷² Schmidt in Bihlmeyer (1970), p. vi.

⁷³ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 112.

⁷⁴ This judgment comes as the result of a conversation with Mirecki; cf. Lefort (1952), vol. 1, p. xi.

⁷⁵ Schmidt (1925), p. 93: "Diese mechanische Arbeit verbürgt freilich auf der anderen Seite die Intaktheit des Textes, da kaum irgendwelche bewußten Eingriffe stattgefunden haben."

⁷⁶ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), where these words are applied generally to "la recension fournie par la version copte du *P. Lond. Or. 927I*" (p. 113).

or whether "the Coptic translator . . . rendered the Greek text quite literally."⁷⁷ This is a qualitative judgment, but the evidence hardly supports the view that the Coptic is a free, paraphrastic rendering. Standard techniques of translation would have been used and need to be identified as such.⁷⁸ The other variants of the Coptic manuscript have text-critical value. What their value is will be determined largely by the third and final issue.

Finally, the question of the quality of the underlying Greek text has been heavily influenced by Schmidt's judgment that the Coptic reflects a liturgical reworking of the *Didache*. The evidence which Schmidt marshaled for this view (the threefold "amen," the expression "sons of men," and the "ointment prayer") is truly not overwhelming. Good arguments have been presented for the genuineness of the "ointment prayer." The same applies to the addition of the word "amen" in the three instances.⁷⁹ Schmidt's suggestion about the origin of "sons of men" is, according to A. Adam, "not witnessed by examples of similar nature and is very improbable."⁸⁰ While it is not necessary here to pronounce an absolute judgment upon the quality of the Greek text which lies behind the Coptic translation, the sum of all of these observations upon the text-critical value of the Coptic text is that the variants of this manuscript should not be automatically dismissed but, rather, should be studied with utmost seriousness, particularly for their value as potentially quite rare indicators of the quality of the eleventh-century Greek manuscript.

VI. Conclusion

The primary goals of this essay have been to describe the Coptic papyrus of the *Didache*, to provide a photograph of the manuscript,

⁷⁷ Gero (1977), p. 81.

⁷⁸ E.g., the doubling of the verb in the latter part of *Did* 10.3 seems to belong here. The text needs to be reviewed in the light of broader Coptic translational procedures.

⁷⁹ See M. Dibelius, "Die Mahl-Gebete der Didache," *ZNW* 37 (1938), pp. 37, 39–40. Audet (1958), pp. 234, 236, 401–402, and Riggs (1984), p. 87, agree with the view of Dibelius and, by way of conjecture, have both added a further "amen" at the end of *Did* 9.2 and 10.2. Niederwimmer (1989), in contrast, follows the view that these words are liturgical additions (p. 42).

⁸⁰ Adam (1957), p. 5. Peterson (1951) believed that the corresponding Greek was found in the text underlying the Coptic (p. 66); Audet (1958), p. 236, and Riggs (1984), p. 87, have adopted it as the original Greek. Jefford and Patterson (1989–90) also think that the variant could present the original text (p. 74).

and to offer suggestions about its history. Current papyrological and codicological knowledge would indicate that this sheet was originally cut from a roll of papyrus in order to serve as a double-leaf in a codex. Perhaps because of a crease on the right-hand side, this sheet seems to have been used instead as a space for scribal exercises, which occurred in two distinct stages. The excerpt from the *Didache* which is preserved thereby is the oldest extant witness to the text of this section and is of paramount text-critical importance for the broader study of this early church order.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MORAL EXHORTATION IN *DIDACHE* 1–5

JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG

University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

The Two Ways section of the *Didache* (chapters 1–5) affords a unique opportunity to trace the literary development of an early Christian moral tract through its several redactional stages and to examine the framework and context for a particular stream of early Christian moral reflection. Once treated as an instance of second-century moralizing, the Two Ways section, at least, and perhaps the whole of the *Didache* (less, perhaps, 1.3b–2.1), must now be placed firmly in the first century.

What makes the Two Ways section so important is the existence of several parallel versions whose basic genealogical relationships can be surmised. This allows for the same sort of synoptic comparison that is possible with the synoptic gospels—comparisons that reveal both diachronic development between documents and the redactional profiles of each document.

I. *A Synoptic View of the Two Ways*

In the two years which followed the publication of the Jerusalem manuscript by Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios,¹ almost every possible way in which to relate the *Didache* to the *Épistle of Barnabas* was advanced. Adolf von Harnack² and Adam Krawutzcky³ contended that the *Didache* was dependent upon *Barnabas*, thus to place it firmly within the second century. Francis Xavier Funk argued the opposite, that the Two Ways was original with the *Didache* and that *Barnabas* was derived from the *Didache*.⁴ Finally, Charles Taylor's lectures in

¹ P. Bryennios, *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων* . . . (Constantinople, 1883).

² A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 76–82.

³ A. Krawutzcky, "Ueber die sog. Zwölfapostellehre, ihre hauptsächlichsten Quellen und ihre erste Ausnahme," *ThQ* 4 (1884), pp. 547–606.

⁴ F.X. Funk, "Die Doctrina apostolorum," *ThQ* 66 (1884), pp. 381–402; "Didache und Barnabasbrief," *ThQ* 87 (1905), pp. 161–79.

London (1885) posited a common Jewish *Vorlage* for the two,⁵ an argument that quickly persuaded von Harnack.⁶

During the first part of this century it was the first of these views that prevailed. Observing that the Two Ways section of *Barnabas* was an integral part of that document and that the order of materials in *Barnabas* seemed chaotic when compared with the *Didache*, J.A. Robinson concluded that the Two Ways of the *Didache* must depend upon *Barnabas* and that the Didachist had rearranged and improved the internal structure of the tract.⁷ The discovery of the *Manual of Discipline* from Qumran Cave 1, however, made it clear that the Two Ways sections of *Barnabas* and the *Didache* were anticipated by the "Two Angels" section of the *Manual* (1QS 3.13-4.26). The *Manual* showed that while, from a literary point of view, the Two Ways section might be well-integrated into *Barnabas*, it was not the invention of *Barnabas*. With the mainstay of Robinson's argument now destroyed, and given the dearth of obviously Christian elements within the Two Ways section, Taylor's solution soon reasserted itself.⁸

A comparison of the *Didache* (chapters 1-5) with *Barnabas* (chapters 18-20) suggests that the two are related by use of a common *written* source, and not merely through the common use of a Two Ways schema. Even though the *Didache* and *Barnabas* disagree in the order of their various elements, there are numerous minute agreements in wording which exist between the two, agreements that are hardly

⁵ Published the following year as C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge, 1886).

⁶ A. von Harnack, *Die Apostellehre und die jüdische beiden Wege* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 14, 27-30; "Apostellehre," in *RE*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 711-730. Cf. also A. Seeberg, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit* (Leipzig, 1903), and *Die beiden Wege und das Aposteldekret* (Leipzig, 1906).

⁷ J.A. Robinson, "The Problem of the *Didache*," *JThS* 13 (1912), pp. 339-56; *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* (London, 1920); "The Epistle of Barnabas and the *Didache*," *JThS* 35 (1934), pp. 113-46 (esp. p. 146). Similarly, J. Muilenburg, "The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (Marburg, 1929); R.H. Connolly, "The 'Didache' in Relation to the Epistle of Barnabas," *JThS* 33 (1932), pp. 237-53; F.E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache* (London, 1938), pp. 31-35.

⁸ See especially J.-P. Audet, "Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du 'Manuel de Discipline'," *RB* 59 (1952), pp. 219-38; R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (New York, 1965), pp. 4-6; L.W. Barnard, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, Barnabas, the *Didache* and the Later History of the 'Two Ways'," in *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 87-107; M.J. Suggs, "The Christian Two Ways Tradition: Its Antiquity, Form, and Function," in D.E. Aune (ed.), *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 60-74; K. Niederwimmer, *Die*

explicable on the basis of a common dependence upon oral tradition.⁹ In the case of the *Didache* and the *Doctrina apostolorum*,¹⁰ the extremely high degree of agreement both in wording and order makes a literary relationship between the two virtually inescapable. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between the two which make it unlikely that the *Doctrina* was simply a translation of the *Didache*.¹¹

While the *Doctrina* closely parallels *Did* 1.1–3a and 2.2–5.2 (*Doctrina* 1.1–5.2), the materials in 4.1–13.4 of the *Canons of the Holy Apostles* (or *Apostolic Church Order*)¹² agree with much of the *Didache/Doctrina* up to *Did* 4.8, but omit the *Didache/Doctrina* 4.9–14, as well as the whole of the Way of Death (*Didache/Doctrina* 5).¹³ The *Canons*, however, display some parallels to *Barnabas* in material that is completely absent in the *Didache/Doctrina*,¹⁴ which suggests that the relationship between the *Canons* and *Barnabas* is not mediated by the *Didache/Doctrina*.

There are, of course, developments within the *Didache* that are not

Didache (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 55–64; W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 22–34; S. Giet, *L'énigme de la Didachè* (Paris, 1970), pp. 69–71; C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teachings of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989), p. 90.

⁹ Cf. *Did* 2.2–7 with *Barn* 19.3–7, *Did* 3.8–10 with *Barn* 19.3–6, and *Did* 4.1–13 with *Barn* 19.2, 5, 7, 9–12.

¹⁰ For the text, see J. Schlecht, *Doctrina XII apostolorum* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1901).

¹¹ It is now rejected that the *Doctrina* is a Latin translation of the Two Ways section of the *Didache*; thus F.X. Funk, *Doctrina duodecim apostolorum* (Tübingen, 1887). This is because of the differences between the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* which cannot be explained on the basis of translation—see Audet (1952), p. 225—and the *Doctrina* betrays no knowledge of the other portions of the *Didache*—thus Niederwimmer (1989), p. 50. According to E.J. Goodspeed, the *Didache* and *Barnabas* both depended upon the Greek original of the *Doctrina*; see Goodspeed, “The *Didache*, *Barnabas* and the *Doctrina*,” *ATHR* 27 (1945), pp. 228–47. Unless one supposes that this putative original was less well ordered than was the Latin *Doctrina*, however, one would also have to suppose that *Barnabas* substantially re-ordered this source (to little advantage) and omitted, e.g., the τέκνον sayings in the *Didache/Doctrina* (see 3.1–6).

¹² For the text, see Th. Schermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Überlieferung* (Paderborn, 1914). These are closely paralleled by the *Epitome of the Canons of the Holy Apostles*, which is edited by Th. Schermann, *Eine Elfapostelmoral oder die X-Rezension der “beiden Wege”* (München, 1903).

¹³ There is a partial parallel between *Did* 4.13 (οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης ἐντολὰς κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ παρέλαβες, μὴτε προστιθεῖς μὴτε ἀφαιρῶν) and *Canons* 14.3 (ἐαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται, ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, θεοδιδάκτοι· φυλάξεις ἃ παρέλαβες μὴτε προσθεῖς μὴτε ὑφαιρῶν). The first portion of this is paralleled by *Barn* 21.4 (ἐαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἀγαθοί, ἑαυτῶν μένετε σύμβουλοι πιστοί, ἄρατε ἐξ ὑμῶν πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν), which has led Niederwimmer (1989) to suggest that “in 14,3a könnte sich etwas von dem in *Did* fehlenden Epilog des Traktats verbergen” (p. 51).

¹⁴ *Barn* 1.1: χαίρετε, υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος

paralleled in the *Doctrina*, *Barnabas*, or the *Canons*, most notably the catena of Jesus' sayings in *Did* 1.3b–2.1 (and probably 6.2–3).¹⁵ This observation has encouraged the conclusion that the section represents a later interpolation into the Two Ways document. The presence of this section in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (7.2.2–6),¹⁶ moreover, demonstrates that the latter is dependent upon the *Didache*, not upon some earlier form of the Two Ways document. The interpolation of 1.3b–2.1 into the Two Ways section has made necessary the addition of the phrase δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς (but the second commandment of the teaching) in *Did* 2.1 to serve as a transition to the original Two Ways document.¹⁷ This implies that the imperatives in 2.2–7 originally followed the comment τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχὴ ἐστίν αὕτη (this is the teaching of these words) in 1.3a. The addition of 1.3b–2.1 amounts to a “Christianization” of the Two Ways document, for it makes the Jesus sayings of 1.3b–2.1 to be the first of two elaborations of the double commandment of love (*Did* 1.2b).

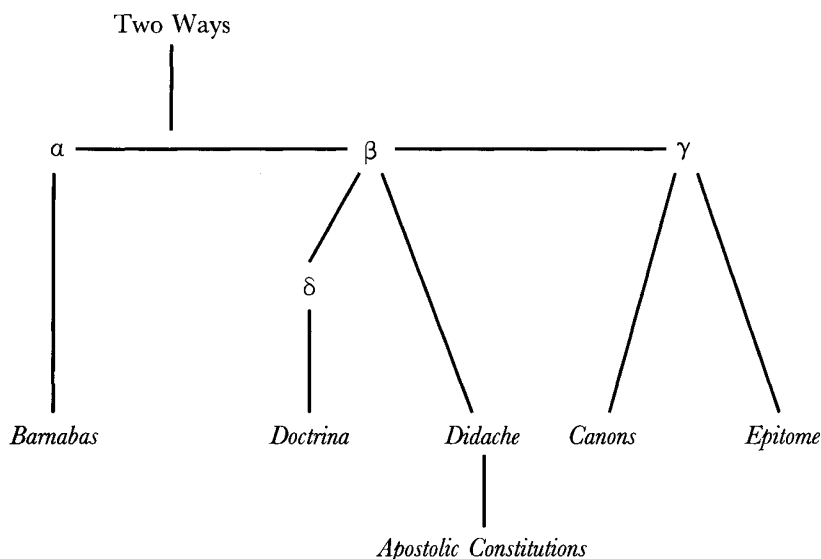
ἡμᾶς; *Canons* 1.1: χαίρετε υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; *Barn* 19.2: δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου; *Canons* 4.2: δοξάσεις τόν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου; *Barn* 19.9–10: ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου πάντα τὸν λαοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον κυρίου. μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας; *Canons* 12.1: τέκνον, τὸν λαοῦντά σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραίτιόν σοι γινόμενον τῆς ζωῆς καὶ δόντα σοι τὴν ἐν κυρίῳ σφραγίδα ἀγαπήσεις ὡς κόρην τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου, μνησθήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, τιμήσεις αὐτὸν ὡς τὸν κύριον; cf. *Did* 4.1a: τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ μνησθήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον. Moreover, *Barn* 21.2–4, 6a (which is lacking entirely in the *Didache/Doctrina*) finds close parallels in *Canons* 14.1–3 (see n. 25 below).

¹⁵ There are no parallels to *Did* 6.2–3 in either the *Doctrina* or the *Canons*. According to A. Stuiber (“Das ganze Joch des Herrn (Didache 6,2–3),” *StPatr* 4 [1961], pp. 323–29), 6.2–3 is a “jüdischen Nachtrag zur jüdischen Zweiweglehre” which is at home in a diaspora synagogue and written with gentiles in view. But Rordorf and Tuilier (1978) point out that the phrase τέλειος ἔση (you will be perfect) at 6.2 has the strongest connections with the language of 1.3b–2.1 (ἔση τέλειος, 1.4), and they argue that the phrase ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν κυρίου (whole yoke of the Lord) “doit être celui du Seigneur Jésus” (p. 32). Moreover, they adduce a late second-century sermon (i.e., *De centesima, de sexagesima, de tricesima*) as a parallel in content: *si potes quidem, fili, omnia praecepta domini facere, ereis consummatus; sin autem, uel duo praecepta, amare dominum ex totis praecordiis et similem tibi quasi te ipsum* (58.10–13; see J. Daniélou, “Le traité de centesima, sexagesima, tricesima et le judéo-christianisme latin avant Tertullien,” *VigChr* 25 [1971], pp. 171–81). *Did* 6.2–3 is also regarded as an insertion of the final redactor according to Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 155–56.

¹⁶ For the text, see F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905–1906).

¹⁷ See, among others, Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 70, 114–15; Jefford (1989), p. 53.

The available data suggest the presence of three basic forms of the Two Ways document, one which was used by *Barnabas* and which displays a rather loose topical organization (α), a second form with a more topical organization (β) which was used independently by the *Didache* and the Greek original of the *Doctrina* (δ), and a slightly attenuated version (γ) which closely parallels β but which lacks the Way of Death and shares a few elements with “ α ”.¹⁸



II. Ethical Motivation in the Two Ways Documents

The Two Ways section in *Barnabas* bears a striking similarity to the “Two Angels” section of 1QS 3.13–4.26, though *Barnabas* is much less deterministic. For both, the two ways are presided over by angels. In the *Manual* (see 1QS 3.18–19, 20–21, 24) they are called רוחות (spirits), or the שר אורים (prince of light) or the מלאך אמתו (angel of his [God’s] truth) and the מלאך חושך (angel of darkness). In *Barnabas* (see 18.1) they are the φωταγωγοὶ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ (light bringing angels of God) and the ἄγγελοι τοῦ σατανᾶ (angels of Satan).

¹⁸ Similarly, Giet (1970), p. 71; Niederwimmer (1989), p. 62. Barnard (1966) proposes a similar stemma, but (following Goodspeed) places the Greek original of the *Doctrina* as the direct source of *Barnabas* and the *Didache* (p. 107).

Similarly, in the *Testament of Asher* those who incline to what is evil are said to be κυριευθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βελιαρ (ruled by Beliar, 1.8).¹⁹ These similarities do not necessarily suggest the literary dependence of *Barnabas* upon either the *Manual*²⁰ or, still less, upon the *Testament of Asher*, but they serve to illustrate the extent to which the *Didache* has demythologized this language. Where even the *Doctrina* still speaks of two angels,²¹ the *Didache* and the *Canons*²² simply speak of ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς (the way of life, 1.1–2) and ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδὸς (the way of death, 5.1). Thus, the editor of the Two Ways in the *Didache* has significantly reduced the cosmic dualism of the earlier Two Ways tradition, and has perhaps assimilated the introduction to the language of Jer 21:8: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου.²³

A further difference is to be observed. In keeping with the more mythological cast, the Two Ways section in *Barnabas* is set within a framework that is defined by God's eternity and eschatological judgment. The way of light is, like God, ἀπὸ αἰώνων καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (eternal), while that of death belongs only to καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας (this lawless age, 18.2). *Barnabas* anticipates the time when the evil one and his works will be destroyed (21.3). Ethical motivation is derived from the contemplation of the judgment (μνησθήσῃ ἡμέραν κρίσεως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, 19.10a), and *Barnabas* views some continual contact with the group as essential if one is to avoid

¹⁹ Cf. *TestAsh* 6.4: ὅτι τὰ τέλη τῶν ἀνθρώπων δείκνυσι τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτῶν, γνωρίζοντες τοὺς ἀγγέλους κυρίου καὶ τοῦ σατανᾶ.

²⁰ For an analysis of the parallels, see Barnard (1966), pp. 93–99. Audet (1952) is more confident: “La double détermination de chacune des voies: lumière et ténèbres, vie et mort (celle-ci explicitement dans le *Duae viae* [viz., of the *Doctrina*], implicitement dans le *Manuel*), constitue un indice de rapports littéraires déjà beaucoup moins équivoque. . . . Si l’on ajoute maintenant à cela les deux anges établis sur chacune des voies, on ne peut plus penser que la rencontre soit fortuite. Enfin, et cela, lié au reste, me paraît décisif: ce ne sont pas seulement des métaphores et des idées qui sont identiques de part et d’autre, c’est un cadre littéraire qui commande le développement entier de deux écrits. Des faits aussi nettement définis sont inexplicables, si l’on n’admet pas une relation littéraire certaine entre le *Duae viae* et l’instruction morale du *Manuel de discipline*” (pp. 234–35).

²¹ *Doct* 1.1: *viae duae sunt in caelo, uitae et mortis, lucis et tenebrarum; in his constituti sunt angeli duo, unus aequitatis, alter iniquitatis.*

²² *Canons* 4.1–2: Ἰωάννης εἶπεν· ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. (2) ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστὶν αὕτη. . . .

²³ Niederwimmer (1989) suggests that the Didachist omitted the motif of the two angels “weil es in der folgenden Durchführung keine Rolle mehr spielt” (p. 88).

“the coming scandals.”²⁴ Like the *Manual*, *Barnabas* employs a σύγκρισις (comparison) which contrasts the fates of the pious and the impious—glorification and resurrection for one, destruction and recompense for the other (21.1). In keeping with its apocalyptic idiom, the Two Ways section in *Barnabas* concludes with an announcement of the nearness of “the day” and of its destructive effects (21.3).²⁵

There obviously are close affinities to the *Manual*, which likewise situates the Two Angels/Spirits in an eschatological framework of angelic struggle which ends in a judgment to be appointed by God and which also includes a description of the contrasting fates of the pious and the wicked (1QS 4.6–8, 11–14). George Nickelsburg has drawn attention to the distinctive features of this schema when it is viewed against the background of other apocalyptic scenarios. In 1QS 3.13–4.26 the coming judgment and its attendant angelic conflict apparently are not used as a response to the problem of the persecution of the faithful. Nor is the conflict between the angels relegated to a period which is to come shortly before or at the end-time. Instead,

the battle of the two spirits is already under way. Man’s problem is not persecution but rather the present temptations and assaults of the evil spirit, who tries to lead him from the paths of righteousness.²⁶

According to 1QS 4.15, the conflict of the Two Angels permeates the entirety of human history, since they have been established as part of the act of creation itself (1QS 3.18–19; 4.16–17). Hence, while the *Manual* does not lose sight of the apocalyptic framework and remains certain of the triumph of the spirit of light and the destruction of the spirit of perversity, it ethicizes eschatology and replicates the cosmic struggle of the Two Angels in the moral struggle within the human heart: “Until now shall the spirits of truth and perversity contend in the human heart, (some) walking in wisdom and (some)

²⁴ *Bam* 19.10b: ἐκζητήσεις καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων. Cf. *Bam* 4.9–10: διὸ προσέχωμεν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὠφελήσει ἡμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλους . . . μὴ καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἐνδύοντες μονάζετε ὡς ἤδη δεδικαιωμένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνερχόμενοι συνζητεῖτε περὶ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος.

²⁵ It is at this point that the *Canons* displays a parallel with *Barnabas*: ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ συναπολείται πάντα σὺν τῷ πονηρῷ· ἥξει γὰρ ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐαυτῶν γίνεσθε νομοθέται ἑαυτῶν γίνεσθε σύμβουλοι ἀγαθοί, θεοδιδάκτοι (*Canons* 14.2–3).

²⁶ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 159.

in vileness" (עד הנָה יִרְיִבוּ רוּחֵי אִמָּת וְעוֹל מַלְכָּב נִבְרַ יִחְלְכּוּ בַּחֲכֵמָה וְאוֹלָת) 1QS 4.23).²⁷

In keeping with the structure that is typical of the other testaments which appear in the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Asher* concludes with an apocalyptic preview of the destruction of the "dragon" (7.3). As at Qumran, good and evil angels play an important part in the rhetoric of the *Testament*. Its center of gravity, however, is along the interior, moral struggle of the τὰ δύο διαβούλια ἐν στέρνοις ἡμῶν (two dispositions residing in human breasts, 1.5).²⁸ Reward and punishment do not need to await an apocalyptic intervention as they do in both the *Manual* and *Barnabas*. The manner of an individual's death gives evidence of whether s/he is now tormented by the evil spirit or comforted by the "angel of peace" (6.6).²⁹ There is no trace, moreover, of the cosmic dualism that is typical of 1QS 3.13–4.26. Rather than two struggling "princes," between whom all humanity is divided, there is an ethical and psychological dualism:

Two ways has God appointed for humanity, and two dispositions (διαβούλια), two types of action (πράξεις), two courses (τόπους) and two ends (τέλη). . . . So, if the soul is inclined towards the good (θέλη ἐν καλῷ), each of its acts will be just, and even if it sins, it will immediately repent. . . . But if its disposition is towards what is evil, each of its acts will be evil. (*TestAsh* 1.3, 6, 8)³⁰

Almost none of this eschatological framework remains in the *Doctrina* except for the words of the incipit (*viae duae sunt in saeculo*, 1.1)³¹ and the obviously Christian addition in 6.6: *per dominum Iesum Christum regnantem et dominantem cum deo patre et spiritu sancto in saecula saeculorum*. Where both the *Manual* and *Barnabas* indulge in meditations upon the destruction of those who belong to the way of darkness, the *Doctrina* notes rather vaguely that the way of death is *maledictis plena* (filled with evil).³² Jean-Paul Audet suggests that the conclusion of the *Doctrina*

²⁷ The translation is an adaptation of that by P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden, 1957), p. 27.

²⁸ See H.C. Kee, "The Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII as a Clue to Provenance," *NTS* 24 (1978), pp. 259–70.

²⁹ See further, Nickelsburg (1972), pp. 161–62.

³⁰ Cf. the similar view that is expressed in *TestJud* 20.1: ἐπίγνωτε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ὅτι δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης· καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως τοῦ νοός, οὗ ἂν κλῖναι.

³¹ Audet (1952) suggests that the phrase *in saeculo* corresponds to 1QS 4.2: "these are their ways on earth (בְּחַבְל)" (p. 235).

³² Compare *Barn* 20.1: ἡ δὲ τοῦ μέλανος ὁδὸς ἐστὶν σκολιὰ καὶ κατάρως μεστή.

(i.e., *haec omnia tibi in animo pone et non deciperis de spe tua, sed per haec sancta certamina peruenies ad coronam*, 6.5)³³ recalls the theme of the reward that is articulated in the *Manual*, which includes within the list of eschatological benefits that are to be lavished upon the faithful a כִּלְיָא כְּבוֹד (crown of glory, 1QS 4.7).³⁴ Yet the eschatological sense, if present at all, is greatly diminished. The mere mention of a crown, one of the most common items in the honorific vocabulary of antiquity and an item which is applied as frequently to the living as to the dead, cannot bear the weight of this argument. While there is no good reason to doubt that the word *corona* which is found in the *Doctrina* is a vestige of an earlier formulation whose context apparently provided a more eschatological connotation, in its literary form the conclusion to the *Doctrina* does not obviously attempt to provide its ethical teaching with an eschatological sanction.

What is true of the *Doctrina* is even clearer in the case of the *Didache*. The *Didache* lacks counterparts to the *Doctrina* with respect to the phrase *in saeculo* (incipit) and to the word *corona* (6.5). The only point of contact between *Barnabas* and the *Didache* in the use of potential eschatological imagery is their common mention of ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης (the good paymaster of the reward, *Did* 4.7 = *Barn* 19.11). Context, however, minimizes this parallel. While *Barnabas* compels the reader to construe the “paymaster” in an apocalyptic sense by means of the evocation of the day of judgment that appears in the immediately preceding verse (19.10), nothing in the *Didache* suggests or requires a similar interpretation. It has sometimes been suggested that an apocalyptic cast was supplied by *Didache* 16, which formed the original conclusion of the Two Ways section.³⁵ Indeed, the only parallel that the *Didache* shares with *Barnabas* apart from the Two Ways section is found in *Did* 16.2 (*Barn* 4.9). Yet as Rordorf and Tuilier indicate, *Didache* 16 does not in fact directly continue the idiom of *Didache* 15, and chapter 16 contains material that is quite

ὁδὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν θανάτου αἰωνίου μετὰ τιμωρίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν τὰ ἀπολλύντα τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῶν.

³³ “Place all of these teachings in your soul and you will not be disappointed in your hope, but through holy certitude you will persevere to obtain a crown.”

³⁴ Audet (1952), p. 235.

³⁵ P. Drews, “Untersuchungen zur *Didache*,” *ZNW* 5 (1904), pp. 68–73; H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 160 (“*Did.* 16: Eine kleine Apokalypse, die wahrscheinlich schon vor der Aufnahme in die *Did.* mit den ‘Wegen’ verbunden gewesen ist”), 173, 190; E. Bammel, “Schema und Vorlage von *Didache* 16,” *StPatr* 4 (1961), pp. 253–62; Kraft (1965), p. 12.

foreign to the Two Ways section.³⁶ Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that *Barn* 4.9 was ever attached to the Two Ways material of *Barnabas* (i.e., chapters 18–20). It seems rather more probable that some form of *Didache/Doctrina* 6.1 served as the original conclusion of the Two Ways document.³⁷

Rordorf and Tuilier have noted that the dualistic schema which characterizes IQS 3.13–4.26 and which is still visible in *Barnabas* and, to a lesser extent, in the *Doctrina* has all but disappeared in the Two Ways of the *Didache*. This tendency is continued by the *Canons*, where the Way of Death is omitted entirely.³⁸ One might add that in both the *Doctrina* and the *Didache* one sees the result of a progressive “de-eschatologization” of the Two Ways schema. Ethical motivation is not derived from the figure of the coming judgment or from the σύγκρισις of the respective fates of the just and the unjust. Where the *Manual* has harnessed the image of the apocalyptic struggle of the Two Angels in order to motivate ethics, the *Didache* has eliminated both angels and eschatology. But if not from eschatology, how is the ethic of the Two Ways of the *Didache/Doctrina* grounded?

III. *Ethical Reflection in the Christian Two Ways Document*

It has been observed widely that the Two Ways tradition as it appears in Christian documents is only superficially “Christianized.” In *Barnabas* there are scarcely any distinctively Christian features. The *Canons* has divided the Two Ways document and placed it on the lips of the disciples (including Nathaniel, and Kephass as well as Peter!), who speak in sequence beginning with John. Despite this, the content of the Two Ways document itself is largely untouched, with the result that there is even less “Christianization” than is the case with

³⁶ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 82.

³⁷ Thus Niederwimmer (1989), p. 248: “Die einfachste und ungezwungste Erklärung dürfte sein: der Didachist fand in seiner Vorlage (dem Wege-Traktat) in der Tat einen kurzen eschatologischen Epilog (wohlgemerkt: kurz, und nicht apokalyptischen Inhalts), etwa in der Form, in der er jetzt noch in Doctr. 6,1 und 6,4f. vorliegt (Barn 21/Can. 14 gehen auf eine andere, vielleicht ältere Version zurück). Der Didachist hat, als er an diese Stelle kam, aus begreiflichen kompositorischen Gründen den Epilog, den er in seiner Vorlage fand (von 6,1 abgesehen), weggelassen, um dafür jetzt, am Ende der ganzen Schrift, einen eschatologischen Abschluß zu setzen, der freilich inhaltlich nicht aus dem Wege-Traktat stammt.”

³⁸ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), pp. 26–27; W. Rordorf, “Un chapitre d’éthique judéo-chrétienne: les deux voies,” in J. Moingt (ed.), *Judéo-christianisme* (Paris, 1972), pp. 109–28 (esp. pp. 114–15).

the “Christianization” of *Eugnostos the Blessed* (NHC 3,4) in the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC 3,3), which uses the same technique but which also intervenes in the content of the speeches.

There is some evidence, nonetheless, of specifically Christian redaction of the early Two Ways document. In the final form of the *Didache*, of course, the presence of sayings of Jesus which the reader presumably is intended to recognize as such, amounts to a “Christianization” of the document.³⁹ A significant, if slight, “Christianization” may already have occurred in the *Didache*, however, even prior to the interpolation of 1.3b–2.1. Stanislas Giet and Kurt Niederwimmer argue that the association of the commandment to love one’s neighbor (Lev 19:18) with the commandment to love God (Dt 6:5; cf. *Barn* 19.2), as well as the schematic presentation of the two love commandments according to the framework of *πρῶτον . . . δεύτερον* (first . . . second), suggests some familiarity with the Christian tradition that is reflected in Mk 12:30–31, especially as it appears in Mt 22:37–39.⁴⁰ Of course, neither commandment is of Christian coinage and there are important antecedents to the association between the love of God and the love of others, especially in hellenistic Judaism.⁴¹ But the juxtaposition of the commandments of Dt 6:5 and Lev 19:18 together with this numerical schema is found only in Christian sources.⁴² The fact that this association occurs not only in the *Didache*

³⁹ See n. 17 above.

⁴⁰ Giet (1970), pp. 66, 70: “un essai maladroit de christianisation.” Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 63, 91. Rordorf and Tuilier (1978) hesitate: “le christianisme de la *Didache* à cet égard est plus apparent que réel” (p. 29).

⁴¹ *TestSim* 5.2; *TestIss* 5.1; 7.6 (τὸν κύριον ἠγάπησα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἰσχύι μου· ὁμοίως καὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἠγάπησα, ὡς τέκνα μου); *TestDan* 5.3 (ἀγάπατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ); *TestBenj* 3.3 (φοβεῖσθε κύριον, καὶ ἀγάπατε τὸν πλησίον); Josephus *JW* 2.139 (of the Essenes): ὁμνυσι φρικώδεις, πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβήσιν τὸ θεῖον, ἔπειτα τὸ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια φυλάξουσιν; cf. Josephus *AJ* 15.375; Philo *QuodProb* 83 (of the Essenes): παιδεύονται δὲ εὐσεβείαν . . . , ὅροις καὶ κανόσι τριπτοῖς χρώμενοι, τῷ τε φιλοθεῷ καὶ φιλαρέτῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ; cf. Philo *SpecLeg* 2.63 (on the duty of Jews in general). See K. Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1972), pp. 99–136. According to P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (Garden City, 1987), p. 283, by the time of Ben Sirach the decalogue itself was viewed as two parts, the first of which pertained to God and the second to one’s “neighbors” (see Sir 17:14).

⁴² Contrast J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), p. 259: “le rapprochement du «premier» et du «second» commandement, d’après Deut., 6:5 (partie du *Schema*) et Lév., 19:18, était déjà opéré dans le judaïsme au moment où le *Duae viae* a fait son apparition, c’est-à-dire, au plus tard, au cours du second quart du I^{er} siècle de notre ère (dans le même sens, Lc., 10:25–28 . . .).” Similarly Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), pp. 28–29, 142–43 n. 2.

(1.2a) but also in the *Doctrina* (1.2) and the *Canons* (4.2-3) indicates that it is not the work of the final editor of the *Didache*, but derives from some earlier recension of the Two Ways document, as is designated above with the siglum "β". Whether the connection between the two commandments signals a knowledge of the synoptic gospels may be doubted. At least in the case of the formulation of the Golden Rule (*Did* 1.2c), there is no reason to suspect that the Two Ways document drew upon the synoptics, since its formulation is negative (like most contemporary formulations) while the synoptic version is positive.⁴³ Clayton Jefford is probably correct that, rather than the Two Ways document depending upon Matthew for its formulation of the double commandment, Matthew and the *Didache* share the same exegetical tradition.⁴⁴

The version of the Two Ways document which is represented by the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* displays three significant transformations: 1) the assimilation of the list of prohibitions in 2.2-7 (which also appear in *Barn* 19.46 in a rather chaotic form) to the second register of the decalogue; 2) the programmatic use of Lev 19:18 in the framework of chapters 2-3; and 3) the insertion of the so-called τέκνον section in *Did* 3.1-7.

Torahizing the Two Ways

It has now been recognized widely that the decalogue provides one of the structural schemata for the imperatives in the *Didache*.⁴⁵ Where *Barnabas* mentions only adultery and covetousness (19.4, 6),⁴⁶ the *Didache/Doctrina* (and *Canons*) list murder, adultery, theft (omitted in the *Doctrina*), covetousness, and false witness. Jefford has noted that in this listing of the commandments against murder, adultery, theft, and false witness, the *Didache* (and to this we should add the *Canons*) duplicates the sequence of elements which is reflected at Ex 20:13-16 in the Masoretic text and Codex Alexandrinus (one should add Dt 5:17-21 in Codex Alexandrinus), and that this same order of

⁴³ See A. Dihle, *Die goldene Regel* (Göttingen, 1962).

⁴⁴ Jefford (1989), pp. 36-38.

⁴⁵ See von Harnack (1884), p. 65; Muilenburg (1929), p. 145; Audet (1958), p. 283; Giet (1970), p. 64; Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 116-17; Jefford (1989), pp. 54-55.

⁴⁶ While the form of the prohibition against covetousness which is in the *Didache* expressly recalls the LXX (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίου), the allusion is not as clear in *Barnabas* (οὐ μὴ γένη ἐπιθυμῶν τὰ τοῦ πλησίου σου, οὐ μὴ γένη πλεονέκτης, 19.6).

elements reappears in Mt 19:18.⁴⁷ The agreement is not perfect, however, either between the MT (together with Codex Alexandrinus) and the *Didache* (which inverts the order of $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) or between the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* (which conforms to the order of Ex 20:13–16 and Dt 5:17–21 in Codex Vaticanus LXX, thus to place *moechaberis* before *homocidum facies*). These minor variations notwithstanding, the agreement between the *Didache*, the *Doctrina*, and the *Canons* in their introduction of other prohibitions from the decalogue indicates that the “Torahizing” of this section of the Christian Two Ways document was not the innovation of the Didachist, but already belonged to an earlier recension (= β).

There are other features that indicate an intentional “Torahizing” of the ethical admonitions in the *Didache*. The first two are syntactical: the repetitive use of $\omicron\upsilon$ with the second person singular future indicative, and the asyndetic structure of the string of prohibitions. The combination of these two features in the Septuagint is characteristic of and, in fact, unique to the decalogue in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5. And it is safe to assume that the reader of the *Didache* would have recognized the source. A comparison of the Way of Death in *Did* 5.1–2 and *Barn* 20.1–2 also makes clear that the framer of the Two Ways document has consciously continued the process of “Torahizing” which was begun in *Did* 2.2–7. While *Did* 5.2 is virtually identical with *Barn* 20.2, the *Didache* has a longer list of vices (twenty-two) in 5.1 than does the corresponding section in *Barnabas* (seventeen). More importantly, the list in the *Didache* has been supplemented to include the terms $\pi\omicron\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ (fornications), $\kappa\lambda\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota$ (thefts), and $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ (false witnesses)—all of which are missing in *Barnabas* but are present in the decalogue—and has been restructured so that the elements which correspond to those of the decalogue appear in the first ten positions of the list: $\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\iota$ (murders), $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ (adulteries), $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ (passions), $\pi\omicron\rho\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$ (fornications), $\kappa\lambda\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\iota$ (thefts), $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ (idolatries), $\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ (magic), $\phi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota$ (sorceries),

⁴⁷ Jefford (1989), pp. 55–56. Mt 19:18 agrees with the Codex Alexandrinus version of Ex 20:13–16 (against Mk 10:19 and Lk 18:20), both in the order of the elements ($\omicron\upsilon$ $\phi\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) and in the use of the negative particle $\omicron\upsilon$ with the future indicative rather than the negative particle $\mu\acute{\eta}$ with the subjunctive which appears in Mark and Luke (Mark: $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\phi\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\varsigma$; Luke: $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\mu\omicron\iota\chi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\eta\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\eta}$ $\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\varsigma$). Jefford suggests that Matthew and the Didachist share a common source for their version of the decalogue (p. 58).

άρπαγαί (robberies), and ψευδομαρτυρίαι (false witnesses). This is in contrast to *Barnabas*, where the overlap with the decalogue is less noticeable: εἰδωλολατρεία in the first position; μοιχεία in the sixth position; and φόνος in the seventh position. Hence, the trajectory that is in evidence in the *Doctrina*, the *Didache*, and the *Canons* represents an ethical strategy which, rather than setting the action within an apocalyptic horizon, grounds its appeals in the Torah.

As has been noted frequently, many of the prohibitions which appear in *Did* 2.2–5.2 and which go beyond the prohibitions of the decalogue (e.g., pederasty, abortion, child exposure) are typical of the hellenistic-Jewish elaborations of the Torah which are seen in Ps-Phocylides, Philo's *Hypothetica*, and Josephus' summary of the Torah in *Contra Apionem*.⁴⁸ To the Jewish reader it would be obvious that the opening of Ps-Phocylides' poem, with its mention of adultery, murder ("staining hands with blood"), covetousness, lying, and honor both of God and parents (vv. 3–8) is a deliberate evocation of the decalogue.⁴⁹ But this summary, along with Philo's *Hyp* 7.19 (cf. Eusebius *PrEvan* 8.7.19) and Josephus' summary of the Torah in *ConApion* 2.190–219, is not framed in such a way as to make patent the literary connection with Exodus 20 or Deuteronomy 5.⁵⁰ Firstly, the order in which the commandments are given does not correspond to that of the decalogue in any of its versions; secondly, the allusion is not complete; and finally, there is no obvious imitation of the syntax or vocabulary of the decalogue.⁵¹ In the case of Ps-Phocylides the lack of any imitation of the syntax of the decalogue is the result of the adoption of the constraints of dactylic hexameter. Moreover, whether the author of Ps-Phocylides was writing for Jews or for gentiles,⁵² the author does not directly appeal to the decalogue in order to ground the injunctions of the poem. Instead, the appeal is both ethical, to the reputation of the gnomic poet Phocylides who

⁴⁸ See M. Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen* (Göttingen/Freiburg, 1979), pp. 207–320.

⁴⁹ See P.W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 18, 23, 66–67.

⁵⁰ Contrast Philo's treatment of the decalogue in *DeDecal* 50–178, where the individual laws are treated in the order of the Codex Vaticanus LXX version of Deuteronomy 5.

⁵¹ Contrast, e.g., the decalogue's phrase οὐ μοιχεύσεις with Ps-Phocylides' phrase μήτε γαμοκλοπέειν (v. 3), or the phrase οὐ ἐπιθυμήσεις with the comment ἀρκείσθαι παρ' ἐοῖσι καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι (v. 6).

⁵² See the discussion of various possibilities in van der Horst (1978), pp. 70–76.

is described as ἀνδρῶν ὁ σοφώτατος (the wisest of men), and pathetic, to the nature of the teachings (i.e., ὀλβια δῶρα [rich gifts], v. 2) and the benefits which they will confer: ταῦτα δικαιοσύνης μυστήρια, τοῖα βιεύτες / ζῶν ἐκτελέοιτ' ἀγαθὴν μέχρι γήραος οὐδοῦ (vv. 229–30). In this way the decalogue (which lies disguised) and the hellenistic-Jewish ethic (which is articulated) are held as parallels with the best and most distinguished of Greek ethics.

In contrast, the *Didache* and *Doctrina* do not argue *to* the decalogue but *from* it. Nor are there any apologetics here.⁵³ The authority of the decalogue is not in dispute but is simply self-evident, and the author of this early Christian Two Ways document makes use of that authority. The fact that the framer of the document can do this implies that the text is edited and employed in an environment in which the authority of the Torah can be taken for granted. This is different, for example, from the environment of those persons who are represented by the Sayings Gospel Q, where at least in its early stages the Torah is never the source of the argument.⁵⁴ Nor has the Torah been problemized, as it was in Pauline circles.

The Two Ways and the Holiness Code

A second, important modification to the Christian Two Ways document (β) is the relocation of Lev 19:18 to the beginning of the document. In *Barnabas* the two ways instruction is prefaced with a series of parallel commands to love God (ἀγαπήσεις τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, φοβηθήσῃ τὸν σε πλάσαντα, δοξάσεις τὸν σε λυτρωσάμενον ἐκ θανάτου, 19.2), but buries Lev 19:18 in the middle of a string of prohibitions that appear later in the list (19.5). In the *Didache/Doctrina*, however, Lev 19:18 achieves a programmatic importance with respect to its new position beside the command to love God. This juxtaposition recalls the schematic division of the decalogue into the first register, which pertains to φιλόθεοι (instructions on God), and the second, which contains φιλάνθρωποι (instructions on humanity).⁵⁵ The addition of the Golden Rule (*Did* 1.2b) makes it clear that the

⁵³ For instances of the apologetic claim that the law of nature and the law of God coincide, see R.M. Grant, "The Decalogue in Early Christianity," *HThR* 40 (1947), pp. 1–17.

⁵⁴ See J.S. Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," in J.E. Goehring et al. (eds.), *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings* (Sonoma, 1990), pp. 35–48; similarly, D. Kosch, *Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes* (Göttingen/Freiburg, 1989).

⁵⁵ Philo *DeDecal* 110. Cf. the texts that are cited in n. 41 above.

Two Ways document is concerned with φιλανθρωπία, merely assuming the contents of the first register.

The explicit quotation of Lev 19:18 in the *Didache/Doctrina* is not the only allusion to the Holiness Code, however. Both express prohibitions against lying and false endeavors (Lev 19:11; *Did* 2.5), both prohibit false oaths (Lev 19:12; *Did* 2.3) and have injunctions against slander (Lev 19:16; *Did* 2.3), and both exhort fair judgments (Lev 19:15; *Did* 4.3; cf. *Did* 5.2). The appearance of the "Septuagintalism"⁵⁶ οὐ λήψη πρόσωπον at 4.3 in connection with admonition and correction (ἐλέγξει ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν), as well as the conjunction of the prohibition against hate with the need for reproof in 2.7 (οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις), appears to recall the conjunction of these same topics in Lev 19:15, 17, which uses a similar phrase (i.e., πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν).⁵⁷

It is worthwhile to note that the NT letter of James, which has several allusions to the Holiness Code,⁵⁸ quotes from the Septuagintal version of Lev 19:18 and designates this text as the νόμος βασιλικός (royal law, 2:8). Furthermore, the author of James does so within the context of a meditation upon προσωποληψία (partiality), in the course of which James illustrates the unity of the Torah through a quotation of the Codex Vaticanus LXX version of Dt 5:17–18 (μὴ μοιχεύσης . . . μὴ φονεύσης, Jas 2:11). Luke Johnson argues that, in the view of James, to break the prohibition against partiality is to break the law of love (Lev 19:18), since the prohibition is an explication of Lev 19:18.⁵⁹

Neither the use of Lev 19:18 in the *Didache/Doctrina* nor that in James is fully comparable to the hermeneutical significance which Matthew gives to the double commandment of love (Mt 22:34–40)

⁵⁶ Cf. 1 Esdr 4:39: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα; Mal 1:8: εἰ προσδέξεται αὐτό εἰ λήμψεται πρόσωπόν σου; Mal 2:9: ἐλαμβάνετε πρόσωπα ἐν νόμῳ; Job 42:8: εἰ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ λήμψομαι; Ps 81:2: ἕως πότε κρίνετε ἀδικίαν καὶ πρόσωπα ἁμαρτωλῶν λαμβάνετε διάψαλμα; Sir 4:22: μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σου; Sir 4:27: καὶ μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον δυνάστου; Sir 35:13: οὐ λήμψεται πρόσωπον ἐπὶ πτωχοῦ καὶ δέσιν; Sir 42:1: καὶ μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν.

⁵⁷ Lev 19:15, 17: οὐ λήμψῃς πρόσωπον πτωχοῦ οὐδὲ θαυμάσεις πρόσωπον δυνάστου ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖς τὸν πλησίον σου . . . (17) οὐ μισήσεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου τῇ διανοίᾳ σου ἐλεγμῷ ἐλέγξεις τὸν πλησίον σου καὶ οὐ λήμψῃ δι' αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίαν.

⁵⁸ See L.T. Johnson, "The Use of Leviticus 19 in the Letter of James," *JBL* 101 (1982), pp. 391–401. Johnson also notes the allusions to Leviticus 19 which occur in Ps-Phocylides.

⁵⁹ Johnson (1982), p. 400. Contrast M. Dibelius, *James* (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 142.

and the positive formulation of the Golden Rule (Mt 7:12). While the *Didache* features Lev 19:18 in the incipit, there is no evidence that its editors or audience shared Matthew's concern to determine a hermeneutical principle for legal exegesis. Still less does the Christian Two Ways document follow the Pauline course by which Lev 19:18 (see Rom 13:8–10) is turned into a summation of the Torah that effectively abrogates the so-called ceremonial Law.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the *Didache* and James are instances of what Hans Hübner calls the "concentration" of the Torah, that is, the tendency to focus upon the ethical aspects of the text⁶¹ and to allow Lev 19:18 to define the essential scope of the Torah.

The strategy of the redactors of document "β" was not especially innovative, since both the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*⁶² and Sirach⁶³ also allude to Lev 19:18 in their summaries of the Torah. The fact that they could use Lev 19:18 in this way, however, is another indication that the Christians who were responsible for document "β" understood ethical teaching to flow from the Torah, and thereby rearranged the Two Ways material in order to make this assumption clear. The *Didache/Doctrina* has not yet taken the step that Matthew did to make Lev 19:18 into an interpretive principle. In this respect, the *Didache/Doctrina* stands much closer to James.

The Teknon Section

The third transformation of note in document "β" is the addition of the so-called τέκνον section in *Did* 3.1–6. *Barnabas* lacks any parallel to this material, but the fact that it is found in the *Doctrina* (3.1–6)⁶⁴ and the *Canons* (7.1–11.2) indicates that this omission is not due to the final redactor of the *Didache* but, instead, belongs to an earlier recension.⁶⁵

The repetitive use of the phrase τέκνον μου (my son; Lat: *fili*) places this section squarely within the idiom of sapiential discourse.

⁶⁰ See H. Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 83–87; H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 26–28.

⁶¹ Hübner (1984), p. 86.

⁶² E.g., *TestBenj* 3.3: φοβεῖσθε κύριον, καὶ ἀγάπατε τὸν πλησίον.

⁶³ E.g., Sir 17:14: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς προσέχετε ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδίκου· καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ἐκάστω περὶ τοῦ πλησίον; see Berger (1972), pp. 112–17.

⁶⁴ The *Doctrina* lacks a counterpart to *Did* 3.3–4a. Niederwimmer (1989) suggests "das kann entweder als Ausfall verstanden werden; oder aber—und das ist weniger wahrscheinlich 3,3.4a haben in Doctr. von Anfang an gefehlt" (p. 124).

⁶⁵ Thus Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 123–24.

The symmetry in the construction of this section has been noted by many scholars and is often taken as an indication of independent origin. R.H. Connolly observed, moreover, that of the twenty-five terms which are used for vices or faults in *Did* 3.16, fully nineteen do not appear elsewhere in the *Didache*.⁶⁶ To this observation Audet adds that, whereas *Did* 2.2-7 uses the negative particle οὐ with the future indicative in imitation of the decalogue, in 3.16 "on a . . . l'imperatif, beaucoup plus intime, plus enveloppé aussi de chaleur humaine, et à mon sens, plus «relatif», de la tradition des sages."⁶⁷ Accordingly, several authors have suggested that this section was taken from a Jewish apocryphon and incorporated into the *Didache*.⁶⁸ It is not possible to verify this conclusion, but the fact that 3.1-6 finds no parallel in *Barnabas*, while the surrounding materials (2.2-7; 3.7-4.14) do offer parallels, perhaps indicates that it is among the latest additions to the Two Ways document.⁶⁹

The idiom of 3.1-6 differs noticeably from that of 2.2-7. It is clear, nevertheless, that the decalogue remains in view:⁷⁰ the key elements of this section are φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, εἰδωλολατρία, κλοπαί, and βλασφημίαι, which correspond in part to those elements of the decalogue that appear in 2.2-7. Several scholars have suggested that 3.1-6 might be understood on the analogy of "building a fence" around the Torah (*m. 'Abot* 1.1).⁷¹ The logic, however, is not quite the same. The construction of the "hedge" in *m. 'Abot* 1.1 and elsewhere

⁶⁶ Connolly (1932), pp. 241-42.

⁶⁷ Audet (1958), pp. 299-300.

⁶⁸ J.A. Robinson (1920), pp. 61-62; Muilenburg (1929), pp. 34, 74, 149; Connolly (1932), p. 242. Audet (1958) rejects this: "Le morceau n'a pas été taillé pour entrer dans un livre, où il serait bien inutile de l'y chercher; il a été fait pour vivre de sa vie indépendante, dans une transmission d'enseignement oral, et pourvu, à cet effet, de tous les moyens de défense appropriés" (p. 300). Later he suggests that "peut-être avait-elle été conçue pour l'éducation domestique, ce qui expliquerait assez bien à la fois son caractère et sa diffusion" (p. 312).

⁶⁹ Thus Niederwimmer (1989), p. 124 n. 1. Interestingly, POxy 1782 has a series of wedge-shaped signs at the end of fol. 2 line 20 (*recto*) followed by horizontal dashes (line 21), thereby to separate 2.7 from 3.1. See R.H. Connolly, "New Fragments of the *Didache*," *JThS* 25 (1924), p. 152. Niederwimmer (1989) thinks that the copyist wished to signal that a new section began after line 21 (i.e., *Did* 3.1-6) and, therefore, that nothing was missing from line 20 (p. 37). Audet (1958) notes: "Il est beaucoup plus naturel de supposer une addition projetée, puis omise après coup pour une raison ou pour une autre" (p. 55).

⁷⁰ Thus Jefford (1989), pp. 64-65, and others.

⁷¹ Taylor (1886), p. 23; Vokes (1938), p. 76; Grant (1947), p. 9 ("its author tries to provide a 'fence' for this Law—to be sure, a rather low one"); Jefford (1989), pp. 63-64.

entails the formulation of precautionary extensions to the Torah which function to ensure that there will be no violations of the commandments.⁷² The rhetoric of the *Didache/Doctrina* is different. Rather, it implies the fundamental *unity* of the Law, which now includes not only the decalogue but numerous other admonitions. It further warns that the violation of an apparently lesser admonition, if such is not actually tantamount to the violation of one of the commandments of the decalogue, tends inevitably in that direction.⁷³ Jefford plausibly suggests that the argumentative strategy of the *Didache* bears important similarities to Matthew's treatment of the decalogue in Mt 5:21–47. He is also right to observe, however, that the *Didache* does not adopt Matthew's rigorist rhetoric, which asserts that anger *equals* murder or that lust *equals* adultery.

The rhetoric of the *Didache/Doctrina* comes close to that of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and James. Several commentators adduce two texts as analogies here: *TestJud* 14.1 (τέκνα μου, μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴκῳ· ὅτι ὁ οἶνος διαστρέφει τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἐμβάλλει ὀργὴν ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς πλάνην τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς); and *TestJud* 19.1 (τέκνα μου, ἡ φιλαργυρία πρὸς εἴδωλα ὁδηγεῖ).⁷⁴ The idiomatic expression that “*x* leads (ὁδηγεῖν) to *y*” may indeed come from the *Testaments*. But the *Testaments* yields perhaps an even more salient analogy with respect to the unity of the moral law. The *Testament of Asher* offers several examples of morally ambiguous situations—of someone who loves an evil doer, of a thief who gives alms to the poor, and of an adulterer who observes *kashrut* (ἀπέχεται αἰδεσμάτων, 2.8). In each instance the judgment is the same: τὸ ὅλον πονηρόν ἐστι (the whole is wicked, 2.2). The assumption of the *Testament of Asher* is that, while such actions seemingly have διπρόσωπον (two aspects, 2.2, 3, 7, 8), one evil and the other good, the fundamental unity of the intention (διαβούλιον, 1.5) and the unity of τὸν ἐντολέα τοῦ νόμου κύριον (God who gives the commandments, 2.6) requires that such morally ambiguous actions be condemned unambiguously.⁷⁵

A similar rhetoric governs Jas 2:8–13. The unity of the Law is

⁷² See, e.g., J. Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 85–86.

⁷³ In general, see W. Rordorf, “Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch des Dekalogs in der vorkonstantinischen Kirche,” in W.C. Weinrich (ed.), *The New Testament Age*, vol. 2 (Macon, 1984), pp. 431–42.

⁷⁴ Recently, Niederwimmer (1989), p. 125; Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 153.

⁷⁵ See the discussion of this idea in Kee (1978), p. 266.

expressed forcefully in 2:10: ὅστις γὰρ ὅλον τὸν νόμον τηρήσῃ, πταίσῃ δὲ ἐν ἐνί, γέγονεν πάντων ἔνοχος. James invokes this maxim⁷⁶ as part of an admonition against the προσωποληψία (preferential treatment) of the rich. James argues, based upon the unity of the decalogue, that a murderer breaks the entire Law, not just a part of it: εἰ δὲ οὐ μοιχεύεις, φονεύεις δέ, γέγονας παραβάτης νόμου (2.11). Equally, anyone who shows partiality, and thus violates the νόμος βασιλικός of Lev 19:18, violates the entire Law (2.8).

In the *Didache/Doctrina*, as in the *Testament of Asher* and James, the argument proceeds from the twin assumptions that the Law is valid and unified. The texts do not intend to create a prophylactic hedge to guard against violations of the Torah but, rather, to argue for the fundamental unity of the entire moral field and, in the case of the *Didache*, to make it clear that this unity also encompasses such lesser vices as anger (3.2), lust (3.3), attention to omens and magic (3.4), lying (3.5), and grumbling (3.6). It is upon this assumption, that is, the unity of the Law and, correspondingly, the unity of the intention of the moral agent, that one can understand the campaign of the *Didache* against various forms of duplicity—as for example, when a person is διγνώμων (double-minded, 2.4), δίγλωσσος (double-tongued, 2.4), διψυχῆσεις (indecisive, 4.4), and διπλοκαρδία (duplicitous, 5.1).

A parenthetic comment might be made with respect to the composition of Matthew's antitheses. While the *Testament of Asher*, James, and the *Didache/Doctrina* all assume the unity of the Law, Matthew takes this one step further through an assertion of the identity of various *precepts*—anger is murder, lust is adultery, and so forth. There is no strong evidence that the *Didache/Doctrina* borrowed from the final form of Matthew, and convincing evidence argues against this assumption. Jefford and others, however, have made it clear that Matthew and the *Didache (Doctrina)* show remarkable similarities, similarities which probably imply social proximity, and perhaps geographical proximity. In the case of *Did* 16.2–8, I have argued elsewhere that the *Didache* represents a piece of apocalyptic tradition which Matthew subsequently incorporated into his gospel.⁷⁷ In regard to Mt 5:21–47, the similarities between Matthew and the *Didache/Doctrina* suggest that Matthew, using the framework of the "Jesus-sayings"

⁷⁶ See M.O. Boyle, "The Stoic Paradox of James 2:10," *NTS* 31 (1985), pp. 611–17.

⁷⁷ J.S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16 6–8 and Special Matthaean Tradition," *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 54–67.

which are offered in the inaugural speech of the Sayings Gospel Q (i.e., Q 6:20b–23, 27–35, 36–49), recast these sapiential admonitions⁷⁸ on the love of enemies (Q 6:27–28) and on non-retaliation and lending (Q 6:29–30) into the form of antitheses. Thus he transformed a meditation on the decalogue (which was available from some independent tradition) into dominical sayings, and in the process intensified the rhetoric of those sayings. In this process the admonitions of the Sayings Gospel Q, which show little interest in an appeal to the Torah,⁷⁹ were brought into a horizon that was dominated by the Torah and its exegesis.

IV. Conclusion

The Christian Two Ways document has perhaps been underrated in the past as a source which reflects the character of primitive Christian moralizing. The above study, however, suggests that some re-evaluation is in order. The Two Ways document (β) which is embedded in *Didache* 1–5 and the *Doctrina* represents an early Christian adaptation of a Jewish exemplar. Given the usual dating of the final redaction of the *Didache* (with the additions of 1.3b–2.1, 6.2–3, and chapters 7–16) to the mid-second century, the framing of the Two Ways document (β) cannot be much later than the end of the first century.

The “Christianization” of the document is slight and certainly is not accomplished either by means of the insertion of moral admonitions into identifiably Christian, theological claims, or even by means of the ascription of individual teachings to Jesus, as has been done in the Sayings Gospel Q (unless some form of the title διδασκαλία κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν should represent the original title of the Two Ways document).⁸⁰ Rather, the document was “Christianized” only in the sense that it was used by Christians who have left their marks on the framing of *Did* 1.1–2.

⁷⁸ D. Zeller, *Die weisheitlichen Mahnsprüche bei den Synoptikern* (Würzburg, 1977), pp. 55–60.

⁷⁹ See n. 54 above.

⁸⁰ It is quite unlikely that this was the case. The Two Ways document is not oriented in any obvious way that would be appropriate τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (for the nations), and there are no internal indications at all of church order, apostles, or prophets—concerns which belong to later portions of the document. Rordorf and Tuilier (1978) are probably correct to conclude that “la présence du substantif κυρίου dans

Various noteworthy transformations of the earlier Two Ways traditions are in evidence. The most striking transformation is the pervasive way in which the decalogue has been made into the starting point and the ultimate warrant for ethics. That the decalogue is appropriate to this purpose is never at issue—its function is self-evident to the reader. It is also striking how different the Two Ways of the *Didache/Doctrina* is from that of *Barnabas* or the *Manual*, both in the lack of apocalyptic appeals and in the marked shift toward the authority of the Torah. This “Torahizing” of ethics is complemented by the use of the Holiness Code in Leviticus 19 (in particular Lev 19:18) as a means by which to focus the interpretation of the Torah upon ethical considerations and “philanthropic” aspects, transformations that are also seen in *Sirach* and *James*.

The Two Ways document stops short of two steps which are taken by Matthew—the use of Lev 19:18 as an explicit hermeneutical principle and the rigorous identification of individual precepts. Nevertheless, there is reason to think that these steps, which eventually were taken by Matthew, have precedent both in the “Torahizing” argument of the Two Ways document and in the claim of the indivisibility of the Torah, which is seen in the Two Ways document and *James*.

ce titre long atteste sans aucun doute que celui-ci est postérieur à l'insertion de la section évangélique (1,3b–2,1) au début du livre et aux allusions à «l'évangile du Seigneur» (8,2; 15,4; cf. 9,3; 11,3; 15,3) dans la partie liturgique et dans la partie disciplinaire de l'ouvrage” (p. 16).

LA *DIDACHÈ* ET LE PROBLÈME SYNOPTIQUE

ANDRÉ TUILIER

Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (Directeur honoraire), Paris, France

La *Didachè* est importante pour l'histoire du texte évangélique dans la tradition synoptique. Attestée par la critique interne et par la critique externe, son ancienneté fournit effectivement un témoignage de premier ordre sur la composition et la diffusion de cette tradition dans le christianisme primitif. C'est pourquoi nous envisagerons successivement les rapports entre celle-ci et la *Didachè* d'une part et la contribution que cette dernière fournit en contre-partie à l'histoire du texte des évangiles synoptiques d'autre part.¹

Pour situer le débat, nous devons rappeler au préalable que la *Didachè* ne présente aucune citation certaine du NT en dehors de la tradition synoptique. Assurément, elle atteste des rapprochements divers avec plusieurs œuvres néo-testamentaires étrangères au texte évangélique.² Mais ces rapprochements ne permettent pas d'affirmer que le didachiste dépend effectivement de ces œuvres, qu'il a pu également inspirer pour sa part. Aussi bien, la *Didachè* ne cite jamais l'Évangile de Jean avec lequel elle ne présente aucune affinité particulière et le fait confirme, s'il en était besoin, l'autorité de son témoignage au regard de la tradition synoptique et l'ancienneté de son texte dans le christianisme primitif.

¹ Pour l'étude des rapports entre la *Didachè* et la tradition synoptique, consulter entre autres H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957); J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958); R. Glover, "The *Didachè's* Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 5 (1958), pp. 12-29; B. Layton, "The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b-2.1," *HThR* 61 (1968), pp. 343-83; W. Rordorf, "Le problème de la transmission textuelle de *Didachè* 1.3b-2.1," in F. Paschke (ed.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 499-513; J.A. Draper, "The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*," in D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives*, vol. 5 (Sheffield, 1985), pp. 269-87; C.M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*," in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (Louvain, 1989), pp. 197-230; C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989); W. Rordorf, "Does the *Didache* Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?," in H. Wansbrough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 394-423.

² Voir à ce sujet W. Rordorf et A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), p. 213. Pour les rapports entre Paul et la *Didachè*, voir les analyses pénétrantes de Jefford (1989), *passim*.

Cette remarque préalable étant faite, il convient d'établir une comparaison systématique entre le texte de la *Didachè* et celui des évangiles synoptiques. Cette comparaison permettra de situer l'œuvre par rapport à la tradition évangélique primitive et d'en tirer les conclusions qui s'imposent pour la constitution de cette dernière.

1) *Did* 1,2: Πρώτον ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, δεύτερον τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτὸν, πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει (par. Mt 22,37–39; 5,43; 7,12; Lk 6,31). La *Didachè* cite ici le décalogue (Dt 6,5 et Lev 6,18) en ajoutant la proposition participiale τὸν ποιήσαντά σε qu'elle emprunte au Sir 7,30. Mais on notera que l'Évangile de Matthieu reproduit exclusivement le commandement biblique sans cette adjonction significative. Quant à la seconde partie du verset qui explique ce commandement, elle figure en substance dans Matthieu et dans Luc. Cependant la forme que lui donnent ensemble ces deux auteurs (Mt 7,12: πάντα οὖν ὅσα ἐὰν θέλητε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς; et Lk 6,31: καὶ καθὼς θέλετε ἵνα ποιῶσιν ὑμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ποιεῖτε αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως) est différente de celle qui figure dans la *Didachè* et celle-ci n'est donc pas un emprunt aux évangélistes à cet égard. Au demeurant, à la différence du didachiste, ces évangélistes ne commentent pas explicitement dans leurs versets respectifs le précepte du décalogue que Mt 22,37–39 et 5,43 cite avec des variantes significatives par rapport à notre texte. Dans cette perspective, Matthieu et Luc apparaissent plus proches l'un de l'autre que de la *Didachè*.³

2) *Did* 1,3: Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ἔξετε ἐχθρόν (par. Mt 5,44.46; Lk 6,27–28.33). La *Didachè* présente une suite logique du précepte qui est paraphrasé et disloqué dans Matthieu (ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς . . . ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσῃτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε, οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν . . . οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν;) et dans Luc (ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς

³ Mais ce rapprochement n'a qu'une valeur relative, puisque le contexte de la *Didachè* est différent de celui des évangélistes à cet égard. Pour tout ce passage, voir le commentaire approfondi de Jefford (1989), pp. 29–38.

καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς; προσεύχεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς). Comme dans l'exemple précédent, les deux évangélistes sont plus proches l'un de l'autre que de la *Didachè*. Mais ils dépendent également de la même source que cette dernière, une partie de la tradition manuscrite ancienne de Matthieu attestant le *logion* εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς qui figure dans la *Didachè* et dans Luc.⁴

3) *Did* 1,4: ἐάν τις σοι δῶ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος· ἐάν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἔν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐάν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δός αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐάν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει (par. Mt 5,39–42; Lk 6,29–30; Aphraate *Hom* 9,4). Tout en paraphrasant, semble-t-il, un texte voisin de la *Didachè*, Matthieu (ἀλλ' ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τῷ θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι καὶ τὸν χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἄφες αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον· καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἔν, ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο) est plus proche de cette dernière que Luc (τῷ τύπτοντί σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα πάρεχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης). Celui-ci résume les préceptes en les exprimant d'une façon plus littérale et plus simple. Mais son texte atteste de toute manière une étape postérieure à celle de la *Didachè* et de l'Évangile de Matthieu.

Enfin, il est important de constater qu'Aphraate cite les préceptes évangéliques dans le même ordre que la *Didachè*. Comme nous le constaterons en conclusion de cette étude,⁵ la remarque permet effectivement d'apprécier la structure du *Diatessaron* que cet auteur syriaque utilise couramment dans ses œuvres.

4) *Did* 1,5a: Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει (par. Mt 5,42; Lk 6,30). Tout en paraphrasant à sa manière le texte qui figure dans la *Didachè*, Luc (παντὶ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει) est plus proche que Matthieu (τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δός, καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆς) de cette dernière. En fait la première partie du *logion* apparaît littéralement dans l'Évangile de Luc.

⁴ Voir plus loin, p. 127. Ajoutons qu'une partie de la tradition manuscrite de Matthieu, à savoir la *koinè* byzantine et le Codex Bezae (voir plus loin), présentent avant διωκόντων la leçon ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καί, qui figure dans Luc et qui doit être authentique dans le texte de l'apôtre.

⁵ Voir plus loin.

5) *Did* 1,5b: ... οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν, μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῶ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην (par. Mt 5,26; Lk 12,59). Le *logion* apparaît à la seconde personne dans Matthieu (οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην) et dans Luc (οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον λεπτὸν ἀποδῶς) dans un contexte différent de celui de la *Didachè*. Alors que celle-ci l'applique au voleur qui doit rendre sa prise, les évangélistes l'imposent aux débiteurs qui doivent acquitter leur dette pour sortir de prison. Toutefois, en utilisant le substantif κοδράντην, Matthieu est plus proche que Luc de la *Didachè* et il atteste avec cette dernière une étape plus ancienne dans l'histoire de la tradition synoptique.

6) *Did* 3,7: Ἴσθι δὲ πραῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν (par. Mt 5,5). Le didachiste cite ici le second précepte des béatitudes (μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς ὅτι αὐτοὶ κληρονομήσουσιν τὴν γῆν) en s'inspirant, comme l'évangéliste, du Ps 37(36),11 qui évoque pour sa part ce *logion* à propos des humbles.

7) *Did* 6,2: Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ, τοῦτο ποίει (par. Mt 11,29–30). Le didachiste évoque très précisément le joug du Seigneur tel qu'il apparaît dans Matthieu.

8) *Did* 7,1.3: βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος (par. Mt 28,19). Au commencement de la section liturgique qui suit les préceptes des deux voies (*Didachè* 1–6), le didachiste introduit le commandement du baptême qui termine l'Évangile de Matthieu. C'est dire que cette section se situe dans la tradition de cet évangile, comme les chapitres qui la précèdent.

9) *Did* 8,2: La *Didachè* cite à cet endroit l'oraison dominicale dans la recension de Mt 6,9–13 et non dans celle de Lk 11,2–4:

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
 Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου
 Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου
 Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου
 Ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς.
 Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον
 Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν
 Ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν
 Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν,
 Ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποινηροῦ.

Cf. 1) τῷ οὐρανῷ (*Did*), τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Mt, Lk); 2) ἐλθέτω (*Did*), ἐλθάτω (Mt, Lk); 3) σήμερον (*Did*, Mt), τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν (Lk); 4) τὴν

ὀφειλὴν (*Did*), τὰ ὀφειλήματα (*Mt*), τὰς ἀμαρτίας (*Lk*); 5) Ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς (*Did*, *Mt*), καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ (*Lk*); 6) ἀφίεμεν (*Did*, *Mt*), ἀφίομεν (*Lk*); et 7) τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν (*Did*, *Mt*), παντὶ ὀφείλουσι ἡμῖν (*Lk*).

La lecture de cet appareil critique ne permet aucun doute. En dehors de variantes de second ordre, le *didachiste* s'accorde pour l'essentiel avec Matthieu contre Luc. Le fait est d'autant plus sûr que nous n'avons pas reproduit ici toutes les divergences qui séparent le texte de Luc de celui de Matthieu pour le *Pater*. On sait en effet que l'oraison dominicale transmise par Luc est marquée par des omissions significatives dans une partie de la tradition manuscrite ancienne et que les éditeurs occidentaux ont l'habitude de la publier dans une recension abrégée. Cependant ces omissions présentent nécessairement un caractère conjectural qui nous empêche d'en tenir compte ici.

Quoiqu'il en soit, le rapprochement entre le *didachiste* et Matthieu est confirmé par le fait que la *Didachè* s'accorde avec les leçons de l'apôtre en présentant notamment la doxologie finale, "Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, qui apparaît également dans une partie de la tradition manuscrite de cet apôtre.⁶

10) *Did* 9,5: εἴρηκεν ὁ κύριος· "Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί" (par. *Mt* 7,6). La *Didachè* attribue explicitement au Seigneur ce *logion* qui apparaît littéralement dans l'Évangile de Matthieu et elle atteste de cette manière qu'elle l'emprunte à la tradition synoptique.

11) *Did* 10,5: καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων (par. *Mt* 24,31). Le *didachiste* reprend dans l'action de grâces de la liturgie eucharistique la perspective eschatologique de l'Évangile de Matthieu (καὶ ἐπισυνάξουσιν τοὺς ἐκλέκτους αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, cf. *Mk* 13,27), qui évoque les anges chargés de rassembler les élus à la fin du monde.

12) *Did* 10,6: Ὡσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαυίδ (par. *Mt* 21,9.15). L'acclamation qui accompagne l'entrée de Jésus à Jérusalem dans l'Évangile de Matthieu apparaît sous une forme différente dans l'action de grâces qui termine la liturgie eucharistique de la *Didachè*. Mais cette action de grâces ne dépend pas de cet évangile, tel qu'il nous est parvenu, puisqu'elle présente la leçon θεῷ à la place de υἱῷ.⁷ Cette

⁶ Cette doxologie est, comme on sait, un emprunt à l'AT (cf. 1 Chr 29,12). En dehors du *Pater*, elle figure également aux 9,4 et 10,5 de la *Didachè* qui évoquent la liturgie eucharistique primitive. Voir pp. 127-28 pour les variantes de Matthieu et de Luc dans le texte du *Pater*.

⁷ La traduction copte de la *Didachè* atteste à cet endroit la variante οἱ καὶ qu'elle

variante la rapproche incontestablement du Psaume 118 (118[117],25) auquel elle est empruntée. A la suite de ce psaume composé pour la fête des tentes, il s'agit d'une acclamation qui accompagnait les bénédictions rituelles dans les repas juifs. Nous indiquerons en conclusion de cette étude pour quelles raisons notre Évangile de Matthieu atteste ici la leçon $\psi\acute{\omega}$ qui représente une tradition évoluée de cette acclamation rituelle.

13) *Did* 11,7: καὶ πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται (par. Mt 12,31). La fin du verset est une condamnation du péché irrémissible contre l'Esprit (cf. Mk 3,29) que l'évangéliste exprime de cette façon dans un contexte différent: Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ βλασφημία ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος βλασφημία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται. La formule du didachiste est plus simple et elle paraît antérieure au texte de Matthieu qui nous est parvenu.⁸

14) *Did* 13,1: Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός... ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ (par. Mt 10,10). Le didachiste applique aux prophètes la recommandation que le Christ adresse aux apôtres dans l'Évangile de Matthieu: ἄξιός γάρ ὁ ἐργάτης τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. C'est dire que les deux *logia* représentent une tradition originale, tout en remontant à une source commune dans l'histoire du NT.

15) *Did* 16,1a: Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν... οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν ἐν ᾗ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται (par. Mt 24,42–44). Les deux *logia* qui figurent au début de la conclusion eschatologique de la *Didachè* apparaissent sous une forme plus ramassée dans l'Évangile de Matthieu, où ils introduisent également l'évocation de la fin du monde: γρηγορεῖτε οὖν, ὅτι οὐκ οἴδατε ποία ἡμέρα ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται. Les deux textes sont parallèles en attestant une source commune. Au reste, dans le texte évangélique, la *koinè* byzantine, l'ancienne version latine et la Vulgate attestent la variante ὥρα à la place du substantif ἡμέρα. En tout état de cause, cette variante remonte à la source commune à la *Didachè* et à l'Évangile de Matthieu et elle est vrai-

emprunte à la version sahidique du NT, qui présente cette variante à la place de $\psi\acute{\omega}$ dans Mt 21,9.

⁸ L'idée figure également dans Mk 3,28–29. Mais elle est exprimée d'une toute autre manière que dans la *Didachè* et dans Matthieu en se présentant sous cette forme: Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πάντα ἀφεθήσεται τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημίαι... ὅς δ' ἂν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἔχει ἄφεσιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

semblablement authentique dans cet évangile. Notons que le texte parallèle de Mk 13,32-33 exprime la même idée d'une manière sensiblement différente: *Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἢ τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ... ἀγρυπνεῖτε· οὐκ οἶδατε γὰρ πότε ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν.*

16) *Did* 16,1b: οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκκλυσθῶσαν (par. Lk 12,35). Ce *logion* qui s'insère entre les deux membres de la citation précédente figure dans un contexte sensiblement identique, mais sous une forme différente, dans l'Évangile de Luc: *Ἔστωσαν ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι καὶ οἱ λύχνοι καίόμενοι.* Il est clair en tout cas que le texte de Luc apparaît comme une interprétation littéraire du précepte que la *Didachè* reproduit dans sa version originale.

17) *Did* 16,3: Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται (par. Mt 24,11 et suiv. et 24,24). L'idée est exprimée à deux reprises dans le chapitre eschatologique de Matthieu: καὶ πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐγερθήσονται καὶ πλανήσουσιν πολλούς· καὶ διὰ τὸ πληθυνθῆναι τὴν ἀνομίαν ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη... ἐγερθήσονται γὰρ ψευδόχριστοι καὶ ψευδοπροφῆται... Mais l'expression en est différente en attestant l'indépendance respective des deux textes par rapport à la source commune qui est la leur.

18) *Did* 16,4a: μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι (par. Mt 24,10). L'expression de Matthieu est ici très proche de celle du didachiste sans qu'on puisse établir une dépendance entre l'une et l'autre: καὶ ἀλλήλους παραδώσουσιν καὶ μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους.

19) *Did* 16,4b: ὁ κοσμοπλανῆς... καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (par. Mt 24,24). Le didachiste réserve au séducteur les signes et les prodiges que l'évangéliste attribue aux faux christes et aux faux prophètes de la fin des temps: καὶ δώσουσιν σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα. Il est donc impossible d'établir une filiation directe entre les deux textes.

20) *Did* 16,5a: σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοί (par. Mt 24,10). Les deux mots figurent également dans le texte évangélique.

21) *Did* 16,5b: οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται (par. Mt 10,22; 24,13). Ce *logion* sur la persévérance finale, qui permet le salut, est exprimé deux fois par Matthieu sous la même forme: ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται. La seconde fois, l'évangéliste l'exprime comme le didachiste dans un contexte eschatologique. En fait, la répétition du *logion* sous la même forme peut attester que Matthieu est plus fidèle que la *Didachè* à la source commune aux

deux textes. Mais elle ne saurait prouver en tout cas que le didachiste dépend de l'évangéliste à cet égard.

22) *Did* 16,6.8: πρῶτον σημείον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημείον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος, καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν. . . . Τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (par. Mt 24,30–31). Le didachiste évoque en ces termes la fin du monde, telle qu'elle est décrite avec quelques variantes par Matthieu: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημείον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (cf. Mk 13,26). Mais les deux textes n'en attestent pas moins une interprétation différente d'une tradition qui leur est commune par ailleurs.

De toute manière, la comparaison que nous avons établie entre les citations de la *Didachè* et les évangiles synoptiques révèle qu'en dehors de *logia* caractéristiques qui apparaissent dans leur contexte (1,5a–b; 7,1.3; 8,2; 9,5; 10,6; 16,1b.5a), le didachiste paraphrase assez souvent ces évangiles en les évoquant dans un cadre différent. C'est pourquoi cette comparaison montre déjà dans son ensemble que la *Didachè* présente une recension particulière du texte évangélique.

Aussi bien, la *Didachè* fournit presque toujours des variantes par rapport à ce texte lorsque ses citations apparaissent dans le cadre évangélique qui leur est propre. Mais, si elle s'accorde éventuellement avec Luc (1,5a; 16,1b), elle est beaucoup plus proche de l'Évangile de Matthieu que nous possédons. Sauf exception cependant (7,1.3; 9,5; 16,5a), il existe toujours une variante quelconque entre celui-ci et le texte cité par le didachiste.

C'est dire que la *Didachè* ne dépend pas du texte de Matthieu qui nous est parvenu. Cependant, comme elle est proche de ce texte, elle remonte en tout état de cause à une source commune qu'il convient de situer dans l'histoire.

Cette source est aujourd'hui perdue. Mais elle appartient à la tradition synoptique primitive et elle devait être un évangile au sens propre du terme, puisqu'elle est citée comme telle par le didachiste à quatre reprises (8,1; 11,3; 15,3–4) et qu'elle recoupe deux fois (8,2 et 15,4) le texte de Matthieu qui est le nôtre. Dans les deux autres cas (11,3 et 15,3), la *Didachè* évoque une tradition qui nous est inconnue, et il est clair que l'expression dont elle se sert ne désigne pas l'œuvre que nous possédons sous le nom de l'apôtre. Mais, dans leur simplicité, les formules qu'elle utilise à cet égard (8,2: ὁ κύριος ἐν τῷ

εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ; 11,3: τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; 15,3: ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ; 15,4: ὥς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν) révèlent qu'elle ne connaît pas d'autre évangile que celui qu'elle cite et le fait confirme, s'il en était besoin, qu'il n'existait vraisemblablement pas à son époque deux ou plusieurs recensions évangéliques dans l'Orient grec. De toute manière, cet évangile n'était déjà plus à cette époque une simple tradition orale, puisque au chapitre 8 le terme εὐαγγέλιον introduit le texte intégral de l'oraison dominicale et que le chapitre 15 cite explicitement (deux fois) le dit évangile comme un texte écrit auquel le didachiste renvoie les fidèles.

Ce texte n'est pas celui de Matthieu qui nous est parvenu, comme on l'a dit précédemment. Mais il en est proche et il était connu de Luc puisque celui-ci reproduit pratiquement seul deux *logia* cités par le didachiste (1,5a; 16,1b). Dans ces conditions, la conclusion est évidente. Le texte en question—c'est-à-dire l'*Évangile du Seigneur* (Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Κυρίου)—doit être identifié à la source Q (*Quelle* en allemand) que les exégètes placent naturellement aux origines directes de notre Évangile de Matthieu et qui a dû être utilisée par Luc.⁹ Cette source, rappelons-le, est aujourd'hui perdue. Mais la *Didachè* permet d'en préciser la nature qui reste obscure pour de nombreux commentateurs modernes.

Il s'agissait en tout état de cause d'un texte en grec qui groupait par épisodes les *logia* du Seigneur avec un récit de la Passion de Jésus. Le substantif εὐαγγέλιον, qui le désigne dans la *Didachè*, confirme justement pour sa part que ce texte était un choix de paroles du Christ, accompagné d'une interprétation prophétique et initiatrice de l'enseignement du Sauveur, de sa mort et de sa résurrection trois jours après cette dernière.

Comme l'attestent les citations du didachiste, cet évangile était antérieur aux œuvres de Matthieu et de Luc qui nous sont parvenues et qui ont été rédigées notamment à partir de cet ouvrage initial en grec. Le fait est indéniable pour Luc qui a utilisé plusieurs récits de la vie du Christ (Lk 1,1–4) et qui reproduit certains *logia* du Seigneur dans la même recension que la *Didachè*. Mais il est encore plus évident pour le texte de Matthieu que nous possédons, puisque les exégètes lui donnent justement pour archétype direct la source Q et que cette dernière, qui doit être identifiée à l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par le didachiste, est attestée d'une autre manière dans la tradition de l'Église primitive.

⁹ Cette source est identifiée par la critique biblique depuis le XIX^e siècle.

Ce témoignage des premières générations chrétiennes¹ est celui de Papias, évêque de Hiérapolis en Phrygie au début du II^e siècle de notre ère. Conservé par Eusèbe de Césarée dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, il atteste que “Matthieu groupa les *logia* du Seigneur en dialecte hébraïque et que chacun les interpréta comme il put.”¹⁰ Ce qui veut dire en clair que Matthieu rassembla les paroles du Christ en araméen et que cette œuvre fut interprétée de différentes manières.¹¹ L’aoriste ἡρμήνευσεν, qui figure à cet endroit, signifie à la fois que l’œuvre accomplie par Matthieu dans sa langue maternelle fut traduite en grec et qu’elle fut également adaptée aux circonstances de temps et de lieu, qui accompagnèrent la diffusion progressive du message évangélique.

La vraisemblance de cette interprétation est attestée par la structure de l’œuvre qui nous est parvenue sous le nom de l’apôtre. En dehors de toute autre considération, celle-ci présuppose au départ un original en araméen, puisque cette langue apparaît sous-jacente dans le texte grec que nous possédons. Ce texte est donc une traduction au sens propre du terme. Mais il est aussi une adaptation dans la mesure où il apparaît complété par des additions diverses dans sa rédaction définitive. Parmi ces dernières, il faut citer notamment la généalogie du Christ qui figure au début du livre et qui lui a fait perdre son incipit original, puisque l’ouvrage apparaît sous le titre suivant dans la tradition manuscrite: βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυίδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Mt 1,1).

Ainsi, sans perdre son caractère spécifique, l’œuvre de Matthieu qui nous est parvenue n’est plus à proprement parler un évangile au sens bibliographique du terme.¹² Comme l’atteste la *Didachè*, c’est la source dont il dépend directement qui avait ce titre. Mais cette dernière n’était déjà plus en araméen, puisque nous avons démontré

¹⁰ Eusèbe de Césarée *HE* 3,39,16: Ματθαῖος μὲν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ’ αὐτά, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς, ἕκαστος. L’aoriste συνετάξατο signifie précisément que Matthieu mit en ordre les *logia* du Seigneur en araméen. Ce qui suppose, semble-t-il, qu’il existait auparavant des collections partielles et limitées de paroles du Christ, fixées de bonne heure par écrit pour accompagner la catéchèse orale.

¹¹ C’est bien ce qu’attestent Epiphane de Salamine et Jérôme qui précisent et complètent à cet égard les informations d’Eusèbe de Césarée. Cf. Epiphane de Salamine *Pan* 29,9 (*PG* 41,405A) et 30,3 (*PG* 41,409B-C); Jérôme *ConPel* 3,2 (*PL* 23,570B); Jérôme *ComMatt* 12,13 (*PL* 26,78A). D’après Epiphane (*Pan* 29,9; 30,3) et Jérôme (*Préface aux Quatre Évangiles*; *PL* 29,527A), Matthieu avait rassemblé les *logia* du Seigneur en araméen et l’œuvre fut transcrite en lettres hébraïques.

¹² Cf. Epiphane de Salamine *Pan* 51,5 (*PG* 41,896A). Il ne faut pas tenir compte

précédemment que l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par le didachiste et utilisé pour la rédaction définitive de notre Matthieu était déjà en grec. Il est donc clair que cet évangile, qui est appelé par les exégètes la source Q, constitue l'intermédiaire naturel entre les *logia* du Seigneur réunis par Matthieu et l'œuvre que nous possédons sous le nom de l'apôtre. C'est lui qui représente la traduction grecque des paroles du Seigneur groupées par cet apôtre et qui reçut le premier l'appellation d'εὐαγγέλιον en Orient, comme l'atteste la *Didachè*. Au demeurant, cette appellation pouvait convenir à son modèle araméen et c'est pourquoi celui-ci est justement considéré par la critique ancienne et moderne comme l'Évangile primitif de Matthieu. Mais il conservait l'anonymat dans l'Église apostolique parce que son auteur s'était contenté de grouper et de mettre en ordre les paroles du Seigneur. Aussi bien, cet anonymat au profit du maître devait assurer sa diffusion. Interprété de manière diverse comme son modèle araméen, l'*Évangile du Seigneur* en grec était appelé à jouer un rôle décisif dans la tradition synoptique.

C'est ainsi que le texte de Luc se trouve à son égard dans une position assez analogue à celui de Matthieu dans sa recension actuelle. Certes, il ne dépend pas exclusivement de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par le didachiste, puisqu'il procède de plusieurs sources, comme on l'a dit précédemment. Et parmi ces dernières, il faut également évoquer Marc qui lui est antérieur et dont il reproduit les termes en plusieurs endroits.¹³ Mais à l'instar du texte de Matthieu qui nous est parvenu et plus encore que lui, l'œuvre de Luc est une composition littéraire qui a perdu son caractère évangélique au sens bibliographique du terme, en utilisant à sa manière les documents dont disposait son auteur et singulièrement l'*Évangile du Seigneur* que nous tentons de situer ici. C'est pourquoi celui-ci peut attester dans quelques cas¹⁴ les leçons de Luc contre le témoignage de Matthieu.¹⁵ Toutefois, dans la mesure où elle utilise exclusivement l'*Évangile du Seigneur*, la *Didachè* est nécessairement plus proche de notre texte de Matthieu, pour lequel

à cet égard des titres qui apparaissent également dans la tradition manuscrite des évangiles (Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαίου, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην) et qui sont en tout état de cause postérieurs à la composition des textes en question.

¹³ Dans plusieurs passages, l'Évangile de Luc suit de près l'Évangile de Marc qui lui est antérieur et qu'il ne pouvait pas ne pas connaître à son époque. Ces passages sont apparemment plus nombreux que les accords entre Matthieu et Marc, et le fait atteste que ces deux derniers textes n'ont pas de rapports directs entre eux, tout au moins à l'origine.

¹⁴ Cf. *Did* 1,5a; 16,1b. Voir plus haut.

¹⁵ Le témoignage du texte de Matthieu qui nous est parvenu.

cet évangile était la principale source de ses références aux *logia* du Christ.

Cela dit, il faut évoquer la place de Marc au regard de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* et des textes parallèles de Matthieu et de Luc qui nous sont parvenus. Le didachiste ignore apparemment Marc¹⁶ et cette ignorance aurait dû retenir l'attention des spécialistes, parce qu'elle reflète précisément la situation particulière de Marc dans la tradition synoptique. C'est qu'à la différence des vies du Christ de Matthieu et de Luc, qui sont en quelque sorte des évangiles au second degré, le texte de Marc est directement issu de la catéchèse orale. La plupart des exégètes modernes sont d'accord à cet égard et c'est pourquoi ils estiment que ce texte est antérieur à ceux de Matthieu et de Luc tels qu'ils figurent dans la tradition manuscrite.

Cette appréciation est confirmée par les informations d'Eusèbe à son sujet. S'appuyant sur les témoignages de Papias de Hiérapolis et de Clément d'Alexandrie dans les *Hypotyposes*,¹⁷ l'historien de l'Église affirme effectivement que Marc mit par écrit l'enseignement de Pierre à la demande des fidèles de Rome et que l'apôtre approuva lui-même le texte qui nous est parvenu sous le nom de son auteur. Ce texte est donc un évangile au sens propre du terme parce qu'il reproduit directement, à la différence des deux autres synoptiques, le message oral de la bonne nouvelle du Christ. Aussi bien, il est le seul qui présente le terme εὐαγγέλιον dans son *incipit*: Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Mk 1,1).¹⁸

De cette manière, l'œuvre de Marc se situe parallèlement à la source Q (c'est-à-dire à l'*Évangile du Seigneur* en grec utilisé par le

¹⁶ Il n'existe aucune citation isolée de Marc dans la *Didachè*. Les rares références au texte de Marc qui figurent dans cette dernière (10,5; 11,7; 16,1a.6.8) apparaissent également dans Matthieu et il est clair qu'elles proviennent de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* issu des *logia* araméens réunis par cet apôtre et non du second évangéliste. Pour une étude détaillée du problème, voir aussi Jefford (1989), *passim*.

¹⁷ Papias de Hiérapolis cité par Eusèbe de Césarée *HE* 3,39,15 et Clément d'Alexandrie *Hypotyposes*, cité par Eusèbe de Césarée *HE*, 6,14,6-7. Cf. *HE* 2,15,1-2; 3,25,1; 5,8,3. Papias oppose le caractère décousu de l'*Évangile* de Marc à l'ordre dans lequel Matthieu rangea les *logia* du Seigneur.

¹⁸ C'est bien cette acception orale que possède au départ le substantif εὐαγγέλιον. Cf. par exemple Mt 24,14: Καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. Au reste, dans le récit des *Hypotyposes* de Clément d'Alexandrie sur les origines de l'*Évangile* de Marc (cf. n. 17), le terme εὐαγγέλιον désigne successivement la prédication orale de Pierre et le texte écrit par Marc pour diffuser cette prédication. Il n'est naturellement pas exclu d'ailleurs que, pour rédiger ce texte, le disciple de Pierre ait pu utiliser des collections partielles et fragmentaires de *logia* du Seigneur, qui accompagnaient la catéchèse orale dans les communautés

didachiste) dans l'histoire du texte évangélique. Si cette œuvre lui ressemble à certains égards, elle lui est étrangère à l'origine. Alors que la source Q procède d'un texte araméen établi par Matthieu en Orient, l'Évangile de Marc a été écrit à Rome, comme l'atteste Eusèbe de Césarée.¹⁹ Aussi bien, la catéchèse dont il est issu avait une autre facture que les *logia* du Seigneur rassemblés par Matthieu.

Cependant, les deux traditions textuelles ont des points communs dans la mesure où elles reproduisent dans des proportions diverses les paroles du Seigneur et les principaux épisodes de la vie du Christ et où elles représentent à cet égard une tradition orale qui leur est commune dans le christianisme primitif. Mais elles sont rigoureusement séparées dans l'histoire, puisque Matthieu est l'auteur d'un recueil de *logia* en araméen pour les Juifs convertis d'Orient²⁰ et Marc celui d'un évangile en grec pour les fidèles de Rome.

Il reste simplement à savoir si le texte de Matthieu, qui nous est parvenu par l'intermédiaire de l'*Évangile du Seigneur*, peut être tributaire à son époque de l'œuvre de Marc qui lui est antérieure. La question doit être évoquée pour la solution du problème synoptique. Cependant l'influence de l'Évangile de Marc sur le texte de Matthieu dans sa rédaction définitive paraît improbable. Les additions, qui accompagnent ce texte (telle la généalogie du Christ) et qui manquent dans Marc, ne permettent pas, semble-t-il, de rapprocher les deux auteurs à cet égard.

De toute manière, le texte en question est une entreprise tardive qu'il n'est pas toujours facile de situer précisément dans l'histoire. Mais, quel que soit son auteur, il n'en représente pas moins la plus illustre et la plus véridique des recensions de l'Évangile de Matthieu qui nous sont attestées par le témoignage de Papias de Hiérapolis et par la tradition patristique. Cette recension avait le privilège d'être orthodoxe et de transmettre, comme nous le constaterons plus loin, un enseignement oral de l'apôtre qui complétait l'œuvre écrite par celui-ci,²¹ et c'est principalement pourquoi elle a survécu dans la tradition chrétienne.

chrétiennes primitives (voir n. 10). Mais on peut affirmer sans crainte de se tromper qu'il ignorait l'*Évangile du Seigneur*, qui était utilisé par le didachiste et qui était la traduction grecque de l'original de Matthieu en araméen.

¹⁹ Voir les références n. 17.

²⁰ La diffusion en Orient des *logia* du Seigneur en araméen réunis par Matthieu est attestée par Eusèbe de Césarée HE 5,10,3, qui affirme que l'apôtre Barthélémy introduisit ces *logia* aux Indes.

²¹ Comme l'affirme Eusèbe de Césarée HE 3,24,6, Matthieu avait dû transcrire les *logia* du Christ parce qu'il devait aller enseigner ailleurs, et ses disciples ont pu

Mais il existait d'autres recensions de l'œuvre primitive de Matthieu qui étaient en usage chez les hérétiques et notamment chez les chrétiens judaïsants. C'est ainsi qu'aux alentours de 400, Epiphane et Jérôme peuvent identifier l'*Évangile selon les Hébreux* utilisé par les Ebionites (qu'on assimile aux Nazaréens) au texte de l'apôtre. Pour sa part, Epiphane, qui ignorait l'hébreu est imprécis sur la nature de cet évangile.²² En revanche, Jérôme, qui connaissait cette langue, affirme que l'*Évangile des Ebionites* représentait l'exemplaire "authentique" (*authenticum*) de Matthieu, c'est-à-dire le texte primitif de celui-ci.²³ Il est naturellement impossible de savoir si cet *authenticum* était absolument fidèle à l'original. Jérôme ne le dit pas d'ailleurs, l'adjectif *authenticum* attestant simplement à l'époque que l'*Évangile des Ebionites* représente en substance cet original.²⁴ Mais l'ermite de Béthléem savait de quoi il parlait, puisqu'il précise que la fameuse bibliothèque de Césarée de Palestine possédait la rédaction primitive de l'*Évangile* de Matthieu en araméen (plus exactement en araméen transcrit en caractères hébreux) et qu'il l'avait lui-même traduite en grec.²⁵

Telles sont les conclusions suggérées par l'étude des citations de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* dans la *Didachè*. Ces dernières attestent que, tout en étant une traduction des *logia* du Christ rassemblés par Matthieu en araméen, cet évangile apparaît comme une source directe pour Luc et pour le texte de Matthieu qui nous est parvenu. Cette source en grec était parallèle au récit de Marc sans en dépendre d'une manière ou d'une autre, même s'il existe des liens entre les deux

compléter son œuvre après son départ, en utilisant des témoignages apostoliques divers. Voir plus loin.

²² Epiphane ne peut pas dire notamment si le texte utilisé par les Nazaréens contenait la généalogie du Christ. Cf. Epiphane de Salamine *Pan* 39,39 (PG 41,405A). En revanche, il atteste explicitement que l'*Évangile des Ebionites*, qui était également attribué à Matthieu, ne contenait pas cette généalogie; cf. Epiphane de Salamine *Pan* 30,3 (PG 41,409B) et 30,13 (PG 41,428B-C).

²³ Jérôme *ConPel* 3,2 (PL 23,570B); *ComMatt* 12,13 (PL 26,78A).

²⁴ A la fin de l'Antiquité et au Moyen Age, tel est le sens de cet adjectif qui est souvent employé par Jérôme. Voir A. Tuilier, "Les livres sapientiaux et le canon de l'Ancien Testament dans l'Église ancienne," in *Lecture cristiane dei Libri Sapientziali* (Roma, 1992), pp. 32-33.

²⁵ Jérôme *ConPel* 3,2 (PL 23,570B); *Vir* 2 (PL 23,611-12B); *ComEz* 4,16 (PL 25,137A); *ComMi* 2,7 (PL 25,1221D). Dans sa *Vir* 3 (PL 23,613-14B) et dans sa *Préface aux Quatre Évangiles* (PL 29,527A), Jérôme rappelle également que le texte primitif de Matthieu était écrit en lettres hébraïques. C'est sur cet évangile primitif de l'apôtre que les Ebionites s'appuyaient pour dire que le Christ n'était qu'un homme. Cf. Irénée *ConHaer* 1,26,2 et 3,11,7; Eusèbe de Césarée *HE* 6,17; Epiphane de Salamine *Pan* 30,13 (PG 41,428B-C) et 51,6 (PG 41,897B-C).

traditions par l'intermédiaire de la catéchèse orale qui précède toujours l'écrit dans le christianisme primitif. C'est principalement par ces deux traditions qu'a été diffusé au départ le message évangélique dans le monde gréco-romain.

En revanche, dans l'Orient sémitique qui parlait l'araméen, l'original de Matthieu dans cette langue devait se maintenir sans les compléments qui constitueront par la suite le texte définitif de l'apôtre en grec. Mais, là encore, l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par le didachiste fournit un témoignage précieux à cet égard lorsqu'il confirme une citation d'Aphraate différente de ce texte.²⁶ Pour être unique, cette coïncidence n'en a pas moins un intérêt certain. En confirmant que l'*Évangile du Seigneur* est la traduction de l'original de Matthieu, elle atteste la permanence de cet original dans l'Église syriaque, qui prolonge à l'époque d'Aphraate, c'est-à-dire au IV^e siècle, la tradition sémitique antérieure en araméen.

Mais, dira-t-on, Aphraate et les auteurs syriens qui lui sont contemporains citent l'évangile d'après le *Diatessaron* de Tatien, qui s'accorde justement avec la *Didachè* au même endroit et la coïncidence entre l'*Évangile du Seigneur* et la citation d'Aphraate présente un caractère fortuit.²⁷ A vrai dire, l'objection peut être retournée contre son auteur éventuel en apportant au contraire un témoignage intéressant à la constitution du *Diatessaron*, qui a donné lieu à des opinions contradictoires dans la critique moderne. En situant cette coïncidence dans la perspective des liens qui unissent nécessairement les Églises syriaques à la diffusion du message évangélique primitif en araméen, on justifie effectivement les origines du *Diatessaron*.

Pour ce faire, il faut d'abord écarter l'idée que Tatien a composé son œuvre en grec à Rome pour établir une harmonisation entre les quatre évangiles du christianisme hellénique. Cette idée contredit les sources historiques qui révèlent au contraire que Tatien, originaire de l'Orient sémitique, écrivit le *Diatessaron* dans sa langue maternelle pour diffuser dans sa patrie une tradition évangélique qu'elle ignorait auparavant.²⁸ C'est donc en syriaque que l'auteur a composé cette œuvre, qui cesse d'apparaître singulière si on la replace dans son

²⁶ Aphraate *Hom* 9,4 (cf. *Did* 1,4). Cf. Köster (1957), p. 228.

²⁷ Köster (1957), p. 228. Cf. Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Erlangen, 1881), pp. 133-34; G. Dix, "Didache and Diatessaron," *JThS* 34 (1933), pp. 242-50; R.H. Connolly, "Didache and Diatessaron," *JThS* 34 (1933), p. 347.

²⁸ Voir entre autres C. Peeters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians* (Roma, 1939).

contexte. Après s'être familiarisé avec les quatre évangiles qu'il avait connus pendant son séjour à Rome, Tatien voulait naturellement donner à l'Orient qui ne les possédait pas encore les textes de Marc, de Luc et de Jean. C'est pourquoi il joignit à l'original araméen de Matthieu des extraits de ces trois textes. Mais, soucieux de respecter cet original qui constituait pour ses compatriotes l'évangile par excellence, il ne modifia pas la structure de celui-ci. C'est ainsi que, si l'on en croit Théodoret,²⁹ le *Diatessaron* omettait avec la généalogie du Christ toutes les références à l'ascendance royale de la famille du Seigneur.

En rappelant cette caractéristique particulière de l'œuvre de Tatien, l'évêque de Cyr confirme à sa manière la coïncidence qu'on a signalée précédemment entre le texte d'Aphraate et l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par le didachiste. Comme l'indique Théodoret, le *Diatessaron*, composé par Tatien et utilisé couramment par Aphraate et les premiers Pères syriaques, présentait pour Matthieu le texte primitif en araméen qui nous est attesté par ailleurs. C'est à partir de ce texte qu'il fut constitué par son auteur et la conclusion est d'autant plus évidente que l'œuvre de Tatien est souvent appelée, comme l'original de Matthieu, l'*Évangile selon les Hébreux*.³⁰

Mais, dans cette perspective, il est également clair que l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par la *Didachè* n'était qu'une traduction de l'original araméen de Matthieu et qu'il en présentait fidèlement le texte en grec. S'il devait donner lieu, comme cet original, à des interprétations diverses, il n'en était pas moins au départ la transcription littérale de celui-ci dans la langue qui sera rapidement celle des premiers chrétiens et de l'Église ancienne sur le pourtour du bassin méditerranéen. Comme le révèle Théodoret, l'*Évangile du Seigneur* en grec omettait notamment la généalogie du Christ et les références à l'ascendance royale du Seigneur. C'est ainsi qu'il présentait la leçon θεῶ à la place

²⁹ Voir au sujet de Tatien: οὗτος καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντέθεικεν Εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς τε γενεαλογίας περικόφας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγεννημένον τὸν Κύριον δείκνυσιν. . . . (Théodoret *Haer* 1,20 [PG 83,372A]; cf. Eusèbe de Césarée *HE* 4,29,6). Théodoret connaissait parfaitement le *Diatessaron*, puisqu'il en supprima plus de deux cents exemplaires dans son diocèse de Cyr.

³⁰ Voir aussi Epiphane de Salamine *Pan* 46 (PG 41,840B). Le *Diatessaron* était si usuel chez les premiers Pères syriaques qu'Ephrem crut bon d'en faire un commentaire, dont nous possédons la traduction arménienne (G. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a S. Ephremo* [Venice, 1876], et les éditions et les traductions des textes arménien et syriaque de cette œuvre par L. Leloir, notamment Ephrem, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron* [Paris, 1966]).

de υἱὸ dans l'acclamation rituelle Ὁσαννὰ τῷ θεῷ Δαβὶδ, qui figure dans la liturgie du didachiste (*Did* 10,6). Pour être insignifiante à première vue, la remarque a son importance pour l'histoire du texte évangélique. En s'insérant dans un ensemble de témoignages que nous évoquons ici, elle confirme, s'il en était besoin, que toutes les allusions à la généalogie du Christ et à son ascendance royale dans notre Évangile de Matthieu ont été ajoutées au moment de la rédaction définitive du texte grec qui nous est parvenu. On pourrait même dire que cette addition est peut-être à l'origine de cette rédaction. Si elle n'avait pas été rendue nécessaire par les polémiques sur l'ascendance royale du Christ dont on trouve déjà un écho chez Luc,³¹ nous aurions vraisemblablement conservé l'*Évangile du Seigneur* en grec cité par la *Didachè*. Mais, à l'instar de l'original araméen de Matthieu, cet évangile était appelé à disparaître parce qu'il omettait les références à la généalogie du Christ qui étaient indispensables aux chrétiens hellénisés d'origine juive à la veille de la prise de Jérusalem par Titus en 70 ap. J.-C., c'est-à-dire à l'époque où sera mis au point le texte de l'apôtre que nous connaissons.

Cette conclusion ne répond naturellement pas à la question de savoir si cette généalogie est d'origine apostolique. Mais, à la date que nous lui assignons avec la majorité des exégètes, il est facile de supposer que le dernier réviseur de l'Évangile de Matthieu empruntait, comme Luc, cette généalogie aux apôtres et que son insertion dans cet évangile à cette date lui donnait les garanties les plus certaines au regard de la canonicité du texte transmis de cette manière. Quelles que soient d'ailleurs les additions dont il a pu bénéficier depuis les origines, ce texte est en substance celui de l'apôtre, qui a groupé et mis en ordre les paroles du Seigneur. Tel est ce qui ressort en définitive des citations évangéliques du didachiste.

Au reste, en montrant la structure de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par le didachiste et en confirmant de cette manière les origines apostoliques de la *Didachè*, la tradition synoptique, telle qu'elle apparaît dans cette dernière, apporte également un éclairage nouveau sur l'histoire du texte évangélique qui nous est parvenu. D'après les comparaisons que nous avons établies au début de cette étude entre la *Didachè* et cette tradition, il ressort effectivement qu'on doit tenir le plus grand

³¹ Alors qu'elle manque dans Marc, la généalogie du Christ apparaît justement dans Lk 3,23-38, qui la présente, on le sait, dans un ordre différent de celui de l'Évangile de Matthieu. C'est que le texte de Luc précède de peu cet évangile et qu'il se situe dans la même perspective que celui-ci.

compte des leçons qui nous sont fournies par les témoins médiévaux de la *koinè* byzantine du texte biblique. Dans deux exemples particulièrement significatifs (*Did* 1,3 et 8,2), ces témoins sont plus proches de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* que les grands manuscrits bibliques du IV^e siècle (Codex Vaticanus gr. 1209 et Codex Sinaiticus)³² et le fait atteste que les omissions caractéristiques de ces manuscrits dans les deux références en question ne sont pas fondées à l'origine.

Dans le premier cas (*Did* 1,3), la *koinè* byzantine, confirmée par le témoignage des versions latines et du Codex Beza³³, qui remonte au VI^e siècle et dont l'autorité est incontestable, présente à juste titre dans Mt 5,44 le *logion* εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς qui figure dans la *Didachè* et dans Luc. En revanche, ce *logion* manque pour Matthieu dans les grands manuscrits bibliques du IV^e siècle que nous avons cités et qui représentent à des degrés divers la tradition alexandrine du texte.³⁴ Mais l'accord entre la *Didachè* et Luc atteste avec certitude que l'*Évangile du Seigneur* présentait également le *logion* en question. C'est pourquoi celui-ci figurait aussi dans Matthieu, conformément au témoignage concordant de la *koinè* byzantine, des versions latines et du Codex Beza pour cet apôtre.

Il en est de même du second exemple significatif que nous avons cité et qui intéresse le texte de l'oraison dominicale attribuée par le didachiste à l'*Évangile du Seigneur* (*Did* 8,2). Alors que celui-ci présente avec Matthieu le texte intégral du *Pater*, ce texte est abrégé par la tradition alexandrine de Luc. Cependant la *koinè* byzantine, le Codex Beza et l'ancienne version latine attestent dans Luc comme dans Matthieu la recension complète de l'oraison dominicale, et il est clair que cette dernière figurait à l'origine dans Luc qui l'avait empruntée à l'*Évangile du Seigneur* utilisé par le didachiste. En fait, cette prière était diversement altérée dans la tradition alexandrine de Luc, puisque le Codex Sinaiticus conserve une partie des passages omis par le Codex Vaticanus à cet égard,³⁵ et c'est vraisemblablement sous l'influence de ce dernier auquel ils accordent un grand prix que les

³² Ces manuscrits sont les plus anciens témoins du texte biblique qui nous sont parvenus en dehors de la tradition papyrologique.

³³ Le Codex Beza est un manuscrit bilingue (grec-latin) des évangiles qui remonte au VI^e siècle. Il a appartenu, comme son nom l'indique, à Théodore de Bèze, et il se trouve aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Cambridge.

³⁴ Voir plus loin.

³⁵ Dans l'Évangile de Luc, le Codex Vaticanus gr. 1209 omet pour le *Pater* les

éditeurs modernes ont souvent abrégé le *Pater* dans cet évangéliste.³⁶

Le témoignage de la *Didachè* est donc précieux en l'occurrence. Au reste, cette dernière cite d'après l'*Évangile du Seigneur* la recension intégrale de l'oraison dominicale, en attestant sous cette forme la doxologie finale ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας que la *koinè* byzantine et les versions syriaques présentent dans Matthieu et qui est vraisemblablement authentique dans la tradition synoptique.³⁷

En confirmant l'autorité de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* aux origines de cette tradition, ces cas très significatifs montrent également l'évolution caractéristique de la recension alexandrine du texte évangélique par rapport à la *koinè* byzantine. Bien qu'elle soit attestée par des manuscrits plus récents, cette dernière n'en est pas moins plus fidèle aux sources que la précédente. Le fait ne surprendra pas le philologue qui peut citer d'autres exemples du même ordre dans sa discipline. Mais il a souvent égaré les éditeurs du NT, généralement impressionnés par le témoignage des grands manuscrits bibliques de l'Antiquité chrétienne, qui présentent par l'intermédiaire de la recension alexandrine (appelée par Jérôme recension d'Hésychius)³⁸ une édition plus courte du texte sacré.

leçons suivantes, qui figurent notamment dans la *koinè* byzantine, dans le Codex Bezae et dans l'ancienne version latine, qu'on appelle habituellement l'Itala: ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς et γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς. En revanche, le Codex Sinaiticus n'omet que la première de ces leçons (ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς) pour sa part.

³⁶ Mais la Vulgate, qui présente à la différence de l'Itala (voir n. 35) les mêmes omissions que le Codex Vaticanus gr. 1209, a pu également exercer son influence sur les éditeurs à cet égard.

³⁷ Cependant cette doxologie est plus complète dans le texte de Matthieu attesté par la *koinè* byzantine de la Bible: ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Cette forme plus complète figure généralement dans les versions syriaques qui procèdent de cette *koinè* d'origine antiochienne (voir plus loin). En revanche, la version copte sahidique du texte évangélique, qui remonte en tout état de cause au II^e ou au III^e siècle, présente la doxologie finale du *Pater* dans le texte court attesté par la *Didachè* et son témoignage confirme l'ancienneté de ce texte dans la tradition synoptique.

³⁸ Cf. Jérôme *Préface aux Quatre Évangiles* (PL 29,527B). Le texte de Jérôme à cet endroit (*Prætermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio*) montre que la critique du temps opposait la recension alexandrine d'Hésychius à celle de Lucien d'Antioche. Voulant dépasser la querelle, Jérôme entend recourir à une seule source (*uno de fonte querendum est*) et sa condamnation des traditions contradictoires d'Hésychius et de Lucien d'Antioche devait entraîner la censure abusive du fameux décret de Gélase anathématisant en bloc ces dernières qu'il traite d'"apocryphes": *Evangelia quae falsavit Lucianus. Evangelia quae falsavit Hesychius*. Cf. E. von Dobschütz (ed.), *Das Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 51.

A vrai dire, le phénomène s'explique d'autant mieux que la *koinè* byzantine a bénéficié de la révision du texte biblique entreprise par Lucien d'Antioche aux alentours de 300 et que cette révision fut l'occasion d'un travail approfondi de son auteur, soucieux de restituer à ce texte sa pureté primitive. Le fait est clairement attesté par la *Souda*.³⁹ Mais il ressort également des informations de Jérôme qui affirme que cette *koinè* a été utilisée par Origène et par Eusèbe de Césarée,⁴⁰ qu'elle est la Vulgate en usage à son époque à Constantinople et à Antioche⁴¹ et qu'elle s'oppose d'une manière caractéristique à la recension alexandrine d'Hésychius.⁴² Confirmée par l'autorité des plus grands exégètes de l'Église ancienne, cette *koinè* présente de cette manière les meilleures garanties critiques dans l'histoire du texte biblique. Mais il était intéressant de montrer que le témoignage de l'*Évangile du Seigneur* atteste aussi qu'elle remonte aux sources de la tradition synoptique.

C'est dire en conclusion l'importance des références à l'*Évangile du Seigneur* cité par la *Didachè* pour la solution du problème synoptique

³⁹ Voir *Suidae Lexicon*, s.v. "Λουκιανός." A cet endroit, la *Souda* attribue explicitement une édition de l'AT à Lucien d'Antioche. Mais les termes dont elle se sert n'excluent pas pour autant une édition du NT de la part de ce personnage qui devait mourir martyr en 312. Cf. Eusèbe de Césarée *HE* 9,6,3; Jérôme *Vir* 77 (*PL* 23,685–86C). Voir d'ailleurs n. 40. Sur l'œuvre scripturaire de Lucien d'Antioche, consulter G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris, 1936), pp. 164–82.

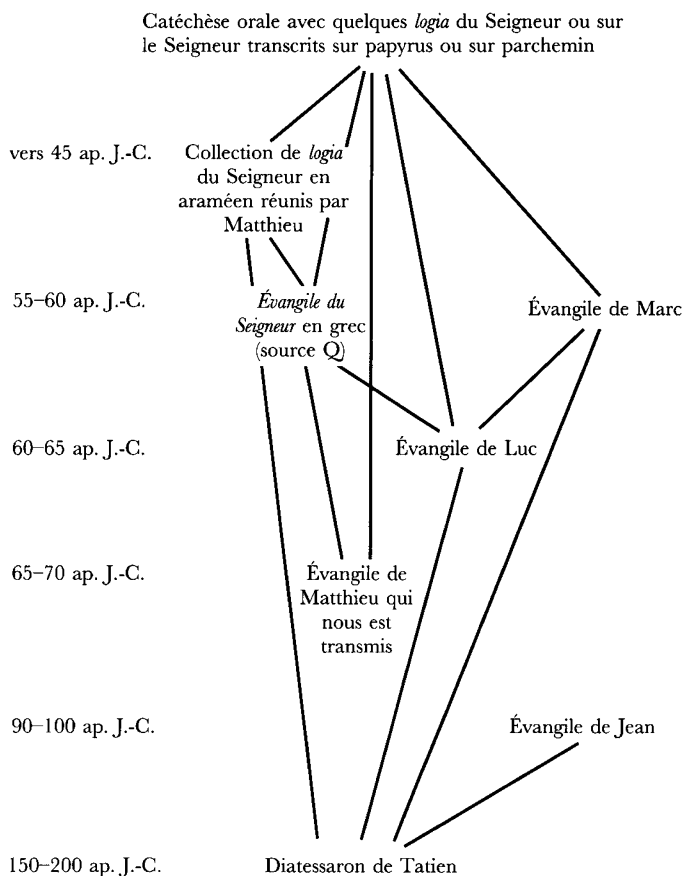
⁴⁰ Voir Jérôme *Lettre CVI à Sunnia et à Fretela, Préface aux Paralipomènes* (*PL* 28,1324B–25A); cf. *ApolRuf* 2,27 (*PL* 23,450D–51A).

⁴¹ Jérôme *Lettre CVI à Sunnia et à Fretela, Préface aux Paralipomènes* (*PL* 28,1324B–25A), et *ApolRuf* 2,27 (*PL* 23,450D–51E).

⁴² Voir plus haut et n. 38. Cependant, comme l'atteste Jérôme dans la *Préface aux Paralipomènes* et dans l'*ApolRuf* 2,27 (voir n. 40), il existait un texte biblique intermédiaire entre celui de Lucien d'Antioche et celui d'Hésychius et qu'il appelle la recension palestinienne. C'est à cette recension intermédiaire entre les deux autres qu'appartient le Codex Sinaiticus, comme le montrent les leçons signalées plus haut, n. 35. Jérôme avoue d'ailleurs dans la *Préface aux Paralipomènes* et dans l'*ApolRuf* 2,27, que le texte palestinien est celui d'Origène et d'Eusèbe de Césarée. Il faut par conséquent admettre que ces derniers n'utilisaient pas directement la recension connue de Lucien d'Antioche qui est typiquement orientale et que leur Bible était issue d'une contamination entre la tradition alexandrine et la tradition antiochienne. Pour l'existence des trois recensions en question dans le texte des épîtres de Paul, voir A. Tuilier, "La valeur du *Claromontanus* (Paris. gr. 107) pour le texte du Corpus Paulinien," *StEv* 6 (Berlin, 1973), pp. 541–55. Mais, si cette contamination n'est pas antérieure au III^e siècle, il faut admettre que la séparation entre la tradition alexandrine et la tradition antiochienne du texte biblique est plus ancienne et que l'accord entre la *Didachè* et les premières versions de ce texte en latin révèle indirectement la valeur de chacune d'entre elles. Fidèle au classement de Jérôme, H. von Soden distingue à juste titre les trois recensions en question du texte biblique; voir von Soden *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1907), pp. 1456–71.

et pour l'histoire ancienne du texte évangélique. Au reste, il suffirait de comparer ces citations à celles des Pères apostoliques et de Justin pour confirmer notre démonstration. Sans apporter des informations aussi décisives, ces écrits permettent des conclusions du même ordre. Ils attestent une époque où la tradition chrétienne ne connaît pas encore en général les textes évangéliques que nous possédons. Même s'il a été composé dans la capitale de l'empire, l'Évangile de Marc n'apparaît pas d'une manière absolument certaine dans l'œuvre de Clément de Rome qui écrit cependant trente ans après cet évangile. Il fallut donc plusieurs générations chrétiennes pour que s'impose définitivement l'évangile tétramorphe. L'histoire du canon du NT confirme à sa manière les conclusions que suggère le témoignage de la *Didachè* et des Pères apostoliques à cet égard.

Stemma proposé pour la tradition synoptique des évangiles



THE SAVING EFFICACY OF THE BURNING PROCESS IN *DIDACHE* 16.5

AARON MILAVEC

The Athenaeum of Ohio, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.

The purpose of this essay is to revise the notion that the medieval concept of purgatory had its beginnings within the speculations of the third-century Fathers. Taking as a point of departure a troublesome text which is found in the apocalypse of the first-century *Didache*, my purpose will be to show that, once extraneous interpretations are peeled away, *Did* 16.5 offers an overlooked testimony to the dual function of eschatological fire more than a century prior to Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria. Going beyond this, further instances of the dual process of burning will be illustrated within the Jewish prophetic writings and the early Christian apocalyptic literature, thereby demonstrating that “purgatorial fire” was not an invention of the *Didache* but the expression of a minor stream of thought which had a long development prior to the third century.

The exposition will proceed in three phases. First, the narrative flow and linguistic structure of the apocalyptic ending of the *Didache* will be examined. Second, the traditional interpretations of *Did* 16.5, which have obstructed any notice of “purgatorial fire,” will be critiqued. Third, the character of the dual function of eschatological fire will be illustrated from selected prophetic and apocalyptic texts.

The State of the Question

The NT takes for granted that God’s final judgment will be like a terrible fire consuming evil. More especially, the parables of Jesus make use of this metaphor when they depict “the bad trees” and “the weeds” as being separated out from the good in order to be “thrown on [the] fire” (Mt 7:20; 13:30, 50; 25:40). In these contexts it is fire that is the preferred metaphor for a portrayal of how God’s final judgment will serve to destroy evil on the face of the earth. Even within the realm of metaphors, however, there is nothing in Jesus’ parables that suggests a fire which is “purgatorial,” that is,

which functions to purify the elect of their minor sins and imperfections prior to their entrance into the world to come.

The Catholic doctrine of purgatory was defined by the two medieval councils (Lyons in 1274 and Ferrara-Florence in 1439) which tried to bring about a reunion with the Byzantine churches. While the Eastern Orthodox shared with the West the practice of intercession for the dead by prayer, alms, good works, and, more especially, the eucharist, Christians in the East were hesitant to accept the notion that punishment and atonement were to be associated with purgatorial fire in the afterlife. In the next century the reformers formulated a doctrine of atonement that was entirely opposed to both the practice and theology of Requiem Masses, because this appeared as a vain superstition which was opposed to the complete sufficiency of Christ's atoning work on the cross. During this period of open debate and fierce conflict, Catholics wanted to claim that the doctrine of purgatory was clearly attested by the sacred scriptures and by the persistent tradition of the Catholic Church.

With the advent of critical biblical scholarship, it has become common to find Catholic scholars taking a much more circumspect view of proof texts and to allow that Catholic tradition was gradually shaped under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Within this rubric, the doctrine of purgatory need not have appeared in its full form within the first century but, from obscure beginnings, might have developed when and where social conditions and the Spirit made ready. Accordingly, after a review of the biblical warrants for purgatory (esp. 2 Macc 12:43-46 and 1 Cor 3:13-15), J.F.X. Cevetello concluded that "in the final analysis, the Catholic doctrine on purgatory is based on tradition, not Sacred Scriptures."¹ Even Joseph Ratzinger, in his published university lectures on eschatology, was careful to allow that "the New Testament left open the question of the 'intermediate state' between death and the general resurrection" which only became "clarified by the gradual unfolding of Christian anthropology and its relationship to christology."² Ratzinger stands firmly within the bounds of critical Catholic exegesis when he acknowledges the elusiveness of the biblical evidence at the same time

¹ *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Purgatory." Hans Küng comes to an even more forceful conclusion: "Purgatory is an idea that is found in many religions (also in Greek and Roman literature, in Plato and Vergil), but not in the Old or New Testament Scriptures"; see H. Küng, *Eternal Life?* (New York, 1981), p. 137.

² J. Ratzinger, *Eschatology* (Washington, 1988), p. 219.

that he allows that "[t]he roots of the doctrine of Purgatory, like those of the intermediate state in general, lie deeply embedded in early Judaism."³

The most complete and scholarly account of these "roots" are to be found in the masterful study of Jacques Le Goff, which is appropriately entitled *The Birth of Purgatory*.⁴ Le Goff summarizes his nearly exhaustive study of the primary sources as follows:

When, between the second and the fourth centuries, Christianity set itself to thinking about the situation in which souls find themselves between the death of the individual and the Last Judgment, and when, in the fourth century, the greatest Fathers of the Church conceived of the idea (shared, with minor differences as we shall see, by Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine) that certain sinners might be saved, most probably by being subjected to a trial of some sort, a new belief was born, a belief that gradually matured until in the twelfth century it became the belief in Purgatory; but the place where these souls were to reside and where this trial was to take place was not yet specified. Until the end of the twelfth century the noun *purgatorium* did not exist: the Purgatory had not yet been born.⁵

While Le Goff reserves the "birth of purgatory" for the closing decades of the twelfth century, a period when sufficient "spatialization of thought"⁶ existed to transform maps of this world and of the world to come, he does not thereby wish to imply that the many small steps that led up to this achievement are of no account. When it comes to the story of origins, therefore, Le Goff traces those ideas that are associated with purgatory within the primitive expressions of Indo-European folklore, but he specifically names Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215) and Origen (d. ca. 254) as "the two Greek inventors of Purgatory."⁷ These two Church Fathers deserve this title insofar as they were the first to introduce the notion that the eschatological fire which is to be released at the time of the final judgment would serve to punish and destroy the wicked while, as far as the elect were concerned, it would serve to educate and purify:

Those tainted by the flesh simply "pass through" the "spirit of judgment," which lasts only an instant. Those besmirched by sin, on the

³ Ratzinger (1988), p. 220. Within its context, Ratzinger appears to designate 2 Maccabees as representative of "early Judaism."

⁴ J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago, 1981).

⁵ Le Goff (1981), p. 3.

⁶ Le Goff (1981), p. 4.

⁷ Le Goff (1981), p. 52.

other hand, remain for a more or less extended period in the "spirit of combustion." Though horribly painful, this punishment is not incompatible with Origen's optimism: the more drastic the punishment, the more certain the salvation.⁸

Having briefly examined the state of the question, attention can now be directed to the narrative flow and linguistic structure of the apocalyptic ending of the *Didache*.

The Apocalypse of the Didache

The *Didache* closes with a terse apocalyptic scenario which seems to be designed to reaffirm the grave importance of being "watchful" (16.1) and being "frequently gathered together" (16.2) in expectation of the Lord's coming "in the last days" (16.3). According to the *Didache*, the apocalyptic disturbances will begin when "the false prophets and the corrupters will be multiplied" (16.3). These are the very classes of persons which the body of the *Didache* regards as an endangerment to the way of life which is defined therein (11.1-12). Now, however, they will succeed: "The sheep will be turned into wolves and the love will be turned into hate" (16.3). The religious pretensions of the "world-deceiver" will then appear cloaked "as a son of God" (16.4) and will serve to enlarge the internal breakdown within the community of saints into a worldwide lawlessness. Faced with this triumph of evil, those who trust in the way of the Lord anticipate: 1) judgment by the burning process of testing; 2) the selective resurrection of the saints; and 3) the coming of the Lord God. The details of the text which related these three events might be translated⁹ as follows:

- 16.5 [1] Then the creation of humans will come into the burning process of testing,
 [a] and many will be entrapped and will be destroyed,
 [b] but the ones having remained firm in their faith will be saved by the curse itself.
- 16.6 [2] And then will appear the signs of (the) truth:
 [a] [the] first sign [will be the] unfurling [banner] in heaven,
 [b] next [will be the] sign of [the] sound of [the] trumpet,

⁸ Le Goff (1981), p. 55.

⁹ The analytical translation that is presented here was prepared by Carol Andreini. This translation in its entirety, along with a commentary which I have prepared, has appeared in "The Pastoral Genius of the *Didache*," in J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Religious Writings and Religious Systems*, vol. 2 (Atlanta, 1989), pp. 89-125.

- [c] and the third [sign will be the] resurrection of [the] dead.
 16.7 And not [the resurrection] of all [the dead] but as it
 has been said:
 “The Lord will come and all the holy [ones] with him.”
 16.8 [3] Then the world will see the Lord coming atop the clouds
 of heaven.

I. *The Linguistic Structure of Didache 16.5*

The ending of *Did* 16.5 declares that those who have remained firm in their faith will be saved ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος (by the curse itself). This is one of the most obscure phrases in the *Didache*. To discern its meaning, one must first examine the linguistic clues and then endeavor to access what range of meanings would be plausible (even demanded) by the internal logic of the text itself.

To begin with the word κατάθεμα (curse), Nancy Pardee provides the following apt summary of the difficulties and meanings which are associated with this word within the context of other literature within the same period:

This rare term seems to be found exclusively within Jewish and, more often, Christian writings, but seldom before the patristic era. It appears to be a later, modified form of ἀνάθεμα, a word which in secular texts almost always has the broader meaning of “something devoted,” but which in Jewish and early Christian material often denotes “something condemned or accursed” or, metonymically, “ban” or “curse.” The denominative verb ἀναθεματίζω is also attested, but seems to reflect solely the negative aspect of the noun (“to curse”). From its contexts it is clear that κατάθεμα (verb καταθεματίζω) shares these adverse senses and came into use perhaps as a way of making explicit the negative meanings of ἀνάθεμα. Yet the infrequency of the word, compounded by the obscure character of the *Didache* in this passage, has made it difficult to pinpoint the precise meaning intended by the author.¹⁰

The term καταθέματος is a neuter noun and the pronoun αὐτοῦ agrees with it. Given the position of αὐτοῦ, one would normally classify it as an intensive adjectival pronoun which could be rendered into English as “by [agency of] the curse *itself*.” On the other hand, αὐτοῦ could be construed as a masculine or neuter, third-person, singular

¹⁰ This citation was graciously shared with me by Nancy Pardee from an early draft of her essay which she wrote for this volume, i.e., “The Curse that Saves (*Didache* 16.5).”

pronoun. As such, the phrase could be rendered as “by [agency of] *him/it*, the curse.” In this latter case, however, one should expect to find a masculine or neuter noun to which αὐτοῦ refers. The likely candidates are eliminated, since κτίσις (creation), πύρωσις (burning process), and πιστός (faith) are feminine nouns. Given the absence of any ready referent, one is forced back to the first option wherein αὐτοῦ is regarded as an intensive adjectival pronoun.

The first option, however, is problematic insofar as the text does not make clear what constitutes “the curse” which will save the elect. Historically, the overwhelming judgment of scholars has been that “the curse” is a veiled reference to Christ. In a moment, the emergence of this opinion and its assessment will be undertaken. At this point, however, some of the paths which were not taken need to be reviewed:

1) The “world-deceiver” in the line above (i.e., 16.4) could rightfully be regarded as “the curse,” and some scholars have entertained this option.¹¹ When the logic of the text is examined, however, one discovers that the *Didache* clearly intends to vilify the world-deceiver and thereby, seemingly, to exclude him from any saving activity.

2) A more proximate referent would be τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας (the burning process of testing, 16.5). While “the burning process” may be understood as “the curse,” the way in which such burning could be the agent which saves the elect is not evident. Moreover, the verb σώζω, when it is followed by the preposition ὑπό, normally suggests a personal agent.¹² At first glance, therefore, “the burning process” seems to be an unlikely referent. In short order, however, a case will be made for this very option.

3) The internal logic of the *Didache* does not favor the idea of “faith” itself as the agent of salvation.¹³ Earlier in the apocalyptic section of the *Didache*, those who follow the Way of Life were told that “the whole time of your faith *will not be of use to you* if in the end time you should not have been perfected” (16.2). This coincides with what novices are told at the end of their training prior to baptism, namely, that “if you are able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect” (6.2). Within the internal logic of the *Didache*, therefore, one has no notion of “saving faith.” Hence, this option

¹¹ This position, as espoused by Francis Xavier Funk, will be explained shortly.

¹² So Pardee; see her essay in this volume, p. 174 n. 54.

¹³ G.E. Ladd, “The Eschatology of the *Didache*” (Cambridge, 1949), pp. 57–62.

does not offer much promise. Furthermore, the acceptance of such an option would need to explain the way in which “faith” could be understood as “cursed.”

The Linguistic Parallelism of Didache 16.5

The first piece of evidence which makes it difficult to set aside “the burning process” as the agent of salvation in the last days is the linguistic parallelism that is found in *Did* 16.5. Let me explain. The term πύρωσις (burning process) is a derivative of πῦρ (fire) and is only found once in the NT (1 Pet 4:12). The word δοκιμασία (verb δοκιμάζω) has the sense of “testing,” normally with the prospect of approving something,¹⁴ for example, a team of oxen, a piece of gold, or a true prophet (cf. 11.11). The phrase εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας (through the burning process of testing), therefore, aptly signals that both positive and negative results could be anticipated. In *Did* 16.5, accordingly, two divergent results are indeed forthcoming:

A. Negative results of the burning

For whom? “many” (unspecified; includes false prophets, the world-deceiver, etc.)

Effect? “entrapped and destroyed [by the burning]”

B. Positive results of the burning

For whom? “the faithful” (those who are not corrupted or deceived as explained in *Did* 16.4)

Effect? “saved [by the burning = by the curse]”

The negative results are named first: “Many will be entrapped and will be destroyed¹⁵ [by the burning process].” In this case, the “burning

¹⁴ “The LXX uses δόκιμος only to recognize coins as valid currency. . . . It is transferred to God, who tests men. . . . There is always a consciousness of a connexion [sic] with testing by fire. . . . With δοκιμάζω the stress falls on a positive result in which that which is tested passes and is recognized as genuine, but πειράζω tends to be more negative and means a temptation to evil . . .” (*The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, s.v. “δόκιμος”).

¹⁵ The eschatological fire of the *Didache* functions “to utterly destroy” (ἀπόλλυμι being used as an emphatic form of ὀλλυμι) and only takes effect during the last days. This destruction, which includes the whole person (body and soul), contrasts with the medieval notion of prolonged (or eternal) punitive torture by “hellfire” for the souls of the damned which takes effect immediately after death. In view of the total destruction which is envisioned by the *Didache*, it seems best to translate the word σκανδαλισθήσονται as “will be entrapped.” The verbal form derives from σκάνδαλον (snare/trap) and literally means to cause someone to fall into a trap. In the NT this term is always used metaphorically in the sense of causing someone to fall into sin. Yet this metaphorical sense does not seem to apply here.

process of testing” would be the implied agent which actively entraps and destroys “the many.” The general term “the many” must minimally include the false prophets, the corrupters, and the world-deceiver, as well as all of those who are corrupted by them. Then, the positive results are named: “The ones having remained firm in their faith will be saved by the curse itself.” The elect pass through the “burning process of testing,” but with quite different results. The “burning process” clearly has the effect of approving them and maybe even of purifying them (as will be seen shortly).

The parallel construction which follows upon εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας would seemingly imply that the “burning process of testing” is the implied agent behind both the negative and positive results. Moreover, the closing phrase ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος (by [agency of] the curse itself), could be applied to both results as well. Those who are entrapped and destroyed would certainly regard “the burning process” as “a curse” for them, since they are utterly destroyed by it. The elect, however, find that this “curse” functions as the agent of their salvation.

How does this “burning process” function to save the faithful? Here the text offers us only clues. When these clues are carefully weighed, however, I believe that their implied sense (which will become clear below) can be deciphered against the horizon of Jewish apocalyptic metaphors. Herein “fire” represents the preferred metaphor for that terrible, eschatological judgment of God. According to the *Didache*, this “fire” will be experienced in two distinct ways: 1) those who follow the Way of Death (as defined in 5.1–2 and 16.3–4) will be entrapped and destroyed by God’s judgment; and 2) those who follow the Way of Life (as defined in 1.2–4.14) faithfully to the end will be approved and saved by God’s judgment. Moreover, since the *Didache* makes it quite clear that God is “the Father” (8.2; 9.2, 3; 10.2) who reveals “through his Son” (9.3; 10.2) the “life and knowledge” (9.3) for obtaining “perfection” (esp. 6.2; 16.2), this final passage through fire might also have been understood as having the effect of burning away any impurities that remain in the faithful, with the result that they can assume their places among the “holy ones” (16.7).

At first glance, this meaning might seem improbable for two reasons: 1) the scholarly consensus which has arisen over the last hundred years has favored an alternative interpretation whereby κατάθεμα is understood as a reference to Jesus who, due to the manner of his

death, was regarded as "the accursed" (e.g., Gal 3:13); and 2) if Le Goff is correct in his judgment that the dual effects of the eschatological fire (destroying and saving/purifying) only took theological shape within the third century, then it would be hazardous to interpret the first-century *Didache* against this backdrop. The linguistic analysis which is proposed above, therefore, can hardly be allowed to stand as long as these two reasons impede its acceptance. Accordingly, each of these difficulties must be examined in turn.

II. *The Obscuring Alternative*

In life, as in scholarship, certain habitual ways of seeing things become established and positively impede that puzzlement which is the necessary prelude to the discovery of alternative ways of seeing. As a consequence, once "saved by the curse itself" (16.5) had become established as a veiled reference to Christ, it became nearly impossible to search for and to accredit alternate explanations. Hence, we need to consider more thoroughly the emergence of this pattern of interpretation which, once it had been accepted, blocked the search for alternatives.

When the first English translation of the *Didache*, which was prepared by R.D. Hitchcock and Francis Brown, was released on 20 March 1884, five thousand copies were sold on the first day. Within three years, Charles Taylor of St. John's College (Cambridge) and J. Rendel Harris of Haverford College (Pennsylvania) published extended commentaries. Both were persuaded that the obscure ending of *Did* 16.5 contained a veiled reference to Christ under the metaphor of "the cursed." Both gave great weight to the notion of paradox:

The woman, if she continue in faith, shall be saved through that which was her curse [viz., childbearing (1 Tim 2:15)]. To Israel in the wilderness the serpent was both plague and antidote. Through death the Lord destroys him that hath the power of death.¹⁶

Beyond this, both authors gave more attention to Justin Martyr's reflections upon Christ as "the accursed" than to the Pauline texts. Harris was convinced that, at certain points, the very language of Justin was "sufficient to shew [*sic*] his use of the Teaching [i.e., the *Didache*]"¹⁷:

¹⁶ C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge, 1886), p. 100.

¹⁷ J.R. Harris, *The Teaching of the Apostles* (Baltimore, 1887), p. 68.

Our suffering and crucified Christ was not cursed by the law [Torah]; but he was only demonstrating that he would save those who did not depart from their faith. (*Dial* 111)¹⁸

Justin says this in the context of his argument that the actions of Joshua forshadowed those of Jesus: Joshua held out the hands of Moses so as to secure victory over the enemies of Israel; Jesus (whose name is equivalent to "Joshua" in Hebrew) held out his hands so as to secure victory over death and sin. Harris, under the presumption that the *Didache* was known and cited by Justin, was prompted to find in Justin what he regarded as "a popular interpretation of the sentence [*Did* 16.5] in the Teaching."¹⁹

On German soil, Adolf von Harnack provided the first German translations and commentaries on the *Didache*.²⁰ As in the case of the early English-language commentaries, von Harnack recognized that those who *gerettet werden von dem Verfluchten selbst* (would be saved by the damned one himself, *Did* 16.5) could only be understood as a reference to Jesus Christ as "the one cursed."²¹ It seems that von Harnack, however, made no reference to Justin but took his departure from 1 Cor 12:3, which he regarded as early testimony that unbelieving Jews already were saying ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς (a curse [is] Jesus). To this he added various other texts (Pliny *EpTrajan* 10.96; *MartPol* 9.3; etc.) which supported the notion that Christ was regarded as "κατάθεμα = ἀνάθεμα"²² prior to the period of C.E. 120–165 (i.e., the period in which the *Didache* originated, according to von Harnack).

In 1887, Francis Xavier Funk produced a Latin translation and commentary in which he tried to revive the original suggestion of Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios (which was previously dismissed by von Harnack) that a scribal error had led to the substitution of the preposition ὑπ' for that of ἀπ', the word which had been intended

¹⁸ This is the citation of Justin Martyr as it is translated in Harris (1887), p. 68.

¹⁹ Harris (1887), p. 69. Harris provides no less than seven pages of parallels by way of interpreting *Did* 16.5b. At the end, however, he notes that it is "certain to my mind that the passage has a much wider sense than that which Justin and his friends attached to it" (p. 69). What this wider sense was, Harris fails to tell.

²⁰ A. von Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1884); and with O. von Gebhardt, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1886).

²¹ See von Harnack and von Gebhardt (1886), p. 62 (all translations of secondary sources throughout the essay are my own).

²² So, von Harnack and von Gebhardt (1886), p. 62.

originally.²³ Accordingly, he proposed that the troublesome text should be read as *salvabuntur ex maledicto ipso* (they will be saved from the curse itself) where "the curse," as Funk surmised, referred either to the antichrist himself or to the curse which proceeded from the antichrist. This alternative rendering of the text, however, gained no substantial hearing within German scholarship. Thus, the more recent German commentaries of Klaus Wengst,²⁴ Georg Schöllgen,²⁵ and Kurt Niederwimmer²⁶ all agree to pass over Funk in silence and to support the position which originally was taken by von Harnack a century ago.

French scholarship took a parallel course. Paul Sabatier produced the first translation and commentary of the *Didache* in 1885. Sabatier was the first scholar to suggest that the *Didache* was composed as early as the mid-first century "before the missionary journeys of Paul."²⁷ Given this early date, Sabatier therefore surmised that the *Didache* did not rely upon any written gospel but made use of "the precepts of the Gospel circulating mouth to mouth."²⁸ Sabatier, who was influenced by this notion of the literary independence of the *Didache*, was not inclined to follow either von Harnack or Harris. He translated the troublesome text as *sauvé de cette malédiction* (saved by this curse, 16.5)²⁹ and wanted his readers to understand only that the eschatological view of the *Didache* assured the faithful that the world would be purged of evil by a supreme test which they would survive. E. Jacquier, writing six years later, noted the lack of agreement on this passage and simply presented the Sabatier/Funk position alongside of the von Harnack/Harris position.³⁰ Since his own translation reads *par l'athème lui-même* (by the anathema itself), however, one can surmise that he was giving preference to Sabatier's position. In contrast, recent French scholars such as Stanislas Giet³¹ and Willy

²³ F.X. Funk, *Doctrina duodecim apostolorum* (Tübingen, 1887), p. 48.

²⁴ K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), p. 99.

²⁵ G. Schöllgen, "Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre," in G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991), pp. 78–79.

²⁶ K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), p. 265.

²⁷ P. Sabatier, *La Didaché ou L'Enseignement des Douze Apôtres* (Paris, 1885), p. 165.

²⁸ Sabatier (1885), p. 152.

²⁹ Sabatier (1885), p. 66.

³⁰ E. Jacquier, *La Doctrine des Douze Apôtres et ses enseignements* (Paris, 1891), pp. 144–45.

³¹ S. Giet, *L'énigme de la Didaché* (Paris, 1970), p. 252.

Rordorf³² have returned entirely to the mainstream tradition which finds within *Did* 16.5 an implicit reference to the saving activity of Christ.

Deficiencies within the Prevailing Opinion

Faced with this nearly unanimous judgment, no place can be made in which to entertain an alternative explanation as long as the intellectual satisfaction that is associated with the present consensus is nearly overwhelming. Our attention, therefore, must turn to deficiencies within this prevailing opinion. Three deficiencies can be discerned:

1) First, an interpretation that is based upon an extraneous text is always hazardous unless there is sufficient evidence that the *Didache* was directly or indirectly influenced by such a text. In particular, the problem which is associated with the resolution of the obscure meaning of *Did* 16.5 through an appeal to Paul (e.g., Gal 3:13; 1 Cor 12:3) is considerably weakened when one notes that the *Didache* originated within a community which exhibited no dependence upon Pauline theology or Pauline letters.

While there continues to be a diversity of opinion on this matter,³³ I have gradually become convinced that the *Didache* knows nothing of Paul or, for that matter, of any other NT book. Rordorf, after studying this situation, concluded that "it is necessary . . . to acknowledge with H. Köster, J.-P. Audet, and R. Glover that the *Didache* does not cite any New Testament text."³⁴ John Kloppenborg's detailed study of *Did* 16.6-8 similarly concluded that no dependence upon the NT can be detected even here.³⁵ While space limitations do not allow a review of the arguments on both sides of this weighty

³² W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), p. 198.

³³ For an overview of the positions that are taken relative to the relationship of the *Didache* and the gospels, see the essay of André Tuilier ("La *Didachè* et le problème synoptique") which appears in this volume. See also C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989); W. Rordorf, "Does the *Didache* Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?," in H. Wansbrough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 394-423.

³⁴ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 91. In a later article, Rordorf (1991) provides an extended examination of this issue (pp. 394-423). He concludes that the *Didache* had access to an independent oral tradition which was not dependent upon any of the canonical gospels.

³⁵ J.S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16 6-8 and Special Matthaean Tradition," *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 54-67.

issue, it does appear to me that the strongest argument against any Pauline influence is the fact that the *Didache* betrays none of the major themes that are evident in the Pauline letters. This will be considered shortly.

Niederwimmer calls to mind the relativity of making extraneous NT appeals when he notes that κατάθεμα (curse) appears in another apocalypse, namely, Rev 22:3.³⁶ Within this scenario, however, it is the leaves of the “tree of life” which will be used “for the healing of the nations” (Rev 22:2), while “every curse [κατάθεμα] will be no longer” (Rev 22:3 lit.). Needless to say, no one has suggested that “the curse” here is a veiled reference to the crucified Christ.

2) Even when direct or indirect textual dependence is not maintained, caution must be exercised against the presumption that any given soteriological schema was so universally accepted as to offer a secure means for the interpretation of an obscure passage within the *Didache*. Early Christianity was theologically and organizationally diverse. Hence, it seems hazardous for Rordorf, for example, to allow for the absence of any textual dependence upon Paul, but then to turn around and allow that early texts such as Gal 3:13 and 1 Cor 12:3 serve to demonstrate that “the notion of curse was therefore so widely dispersed in the early church that one will not be surprised that the noun κατάθεμα might here designate Christ himself.”³⁷ Rordorf was admittedly more tentative than his predecessors. Yet, in the end, he seems to presume too much.

It is quite a momentous jump, for instance, from the position that Jesus, because of his execution as a criminal, was considered “cursed” (so Dt 21:23) to the position that “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law [Torah], having become a curse for us” (Gal 3:13). This theological jump was not made everywhere, and modern scholarship makes it clear that the canonical gospels and the non-Pauline letters do not understand the death of Christ in this mode, even though they were written decades after Paul’s letters. The earlier position (based upon Dt 21:23), meanwhile, does not provide a sufficient interpretation of the text, since it fails to account for how or why Jesus, the one who suffered a “cursed” death on the cross, could or should have a saving efficacy at the time of the final judgment. Hence, when *Did* 16.5 is read as a reference to Jesus in this context, it must

³⁶ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 264.

³⁷ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 198.

necessarily point toward some soteriological perspective that is based upon Jesus' death. But one should ask which perspective this might be, for there are many. And why this one and not another? In this, of course, the internal evidence of the *Didache* must be given first place of importance, thereby leading to the last principle.

3) The interpretation of a troublesome text must first and foremost be negotiated by the consultation of the internal evidence of the text itself. When this is done, three things become evident:

a) The text suggests that both the damned and the elect pass through the same "burning process of testing" (*Did* 16.5). When "saved by the curse itself" is unraveled as a reference to Jesus, it is puzzling that *no explanation is forthcoming as to how or why the elect* are made to pass through "the burning process of testing." My suspicion is that most scholars have read the text as a suggestion that "the burning process of testing" applies *only* to those who are doomed to destruction, while the elect are saved (i.e., dispensed) from this testing by the crucified Christ. This solution overlooks the linguistic clues which are examined above in which δοκιμασία suggests "testing" with the prospect of approval and in which the parallel construction suggests that the burning process has both negative and positive results.

b) If Christ is presumed to be the referent for "the accursed" (*Did* 16.5), then it must be allowed that this saving activity is specifically designated as an event "in the last days" (16.3) and has little to do with freedom "from the curse of the law" (Gal 3:13) at the present time, as Paul would have it.

c) Finally, when the *Didache* is read with integrity and allowed to speak for itself, one discovers that a soteriology which is based upon the cross or upon Christ as "accursed" is seemingly absent from the entire theological horizon of the *Didache*. Issues with regard to the confession of transgressions (4.14; 14.1) and the forgiveness of sins (4.6; 8.2) are amply addressed, but are entirely outside of the context of any appeal to the death of Jesus or his status as "accursed." Even the eucharistic prayers (*Didache* 9–10) have their own internal logic and symbolism without in the slightest way making any Pauline appeal to "covenant," "remembrance," or "the Lord's death" (1 Cor 11:23–32).

In sum, the theological integrity of the *Didache* inclines one to assign no special significance to the cross or to the crucifixion as a way by which to resolve any significant issue within the *Didache*. It remains problematic, therefore, to break the silence of the *Didache* on this score by supposing that a dubious reference in one of its closing

lines can or ought to be clarified by such an appeal. One risks the projection of an idea that is foreign to the original mindset of the author.

III. *Exploring the Metaphor of Fire*

Now that certain difficulties with the prevailing tradition of interpretation have been presented, the time is ripe to begin to reconstruct the Jewish horizon of understanding with regard to eschatological fire. The image of fire is frequently used in both Testaments to evoke God's terrifying and mysterious presence.³⁸ More especially, fire functions as the preferred metaphor by which to evoke the fearsome and consuming judgment of the Lord.

Certain formal expressions are used for Yahweh's intervention in judgment: "There went out fire from Yahweh" (Lv. 10:2), "there came down fire from heaven" (2 K. 1:10), "the fire of Yahweh burnt among them" (Nu. 11:1). In the prophets fire is one of the most common means of divine judgment. It smites both the vain-glorious enemies of Israel (Am. 1:4, 7, 10, 12, 14; 2:2; Jer. 43:12; Na. 3:13 etc.) and also the disobedient people of Israel itself (Am. 2:5; Hos. 8:14; Jer. 11:16; 17:27; 21:14; 22:7; Ez. 15:7; 16:41; 24:9 etc.).³⁹

Dual Function of Fire in the Prophetic Literature

Within the Jewish prophetic tradition, alongside of the metaphor of destructive fire as portraying God's judgment, one also finds intimations of those who pass through or near this fire unharmed. The earliest instance of this appears to be in Isaiah 33. In this apocalyptic poem, we first see the Lord rising up and taking the field in response to the earlier (Is 33:2) prayer of those inhabitants of Jerusalem who find themselves completely surrounded by their enemy. As God's terrible judgment and fire blazes forth and consumes the enemy "like thorns . . . burnt in the fire" (Is 33:12), the "sinners in Zion" witness this horrendous spectacle and they themselves begin to tremble, because they are aware that they too deserve the fiery wrath of their God who is coming to dwell among them as fire (cf. Dt 4:24; 9:3; Ps 50:3; Ex 19:18; 1 Kgs 19:12). To their near-despairing question, "Which of us can live with this devouring fire?" (Is 33:14), some ground for hope is given: those who follow the Torah (as defined

³⁸ TDNT, s.v. "πῦρ."

³⁹ TDNT, s.v. "πῦρ" (quotation from p. 935).

by Is 33:15–16) will not be consumed by God's judgment. Such righteous ones "can exist in everlasting flames" (Is 33:14).

In this apocalyptic scenario, nothing yet appears to be relative to the approving or purifying effect of fire. Nonetheless, what one does find is the certainty that when the Lord comes, both those who are enemies and those who are friends (the righteous in Zion) will experience God as a blazing fire. One also finds the anticipation of certain dual effects of the Lord's fiery presence: 1) the enemies are utterly destroyed; but 2) the righteous appear to be able to survive safely therein.⁴⁰ Earlier in Isaiah there was a passing reference to the Lord's promise to "smelt away your [Zion's] dross in the furnace" (Is 1:25), but this theme does not seem to invade the apocalyptic approach of Isaiah 33. One must wait for the subsequent prophetic writings of Ezekiel and Malachi for a full development of this theme of purifying fire.

According to Ezekiel, Yahweh will collect his people inside Jerusalem and judge them:

As men gather silver and bronze and iron and lead and tin into a furnace, to blow the fire upon it in order to melt it; so I will gather you in my anger and in my wrath. (Ez 22:20)

The process here is that of the purification of raw metals that are mined from the earth by firing them in a furnace in order to allow the pure metal to be melted and thereby separated from the rocks to which it adheres.⁴¹ Later, one finds a variant image in which a cooking pot is heated red-hot on the coals "that its filthiness may be melted in it, its rust consumed" (Ez 24:11). This image of God's judgment as the process by which metals are purified by melting them down in a furnace (also Is 1:25–26; Jer 6:29; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:2–3; Sir 2:5; Pr 17:3) provides an opening in the direction of the concept that God's elect will be purified and saved (rather than destroyed) when they pass through the fiery judgment of the divine wrath.

⁴⁰ The text of Isaiah 33 does not specify how this is possible. To the question of "Which of us can live with this devouring fire?" (v. 14), the response comes: "He who acts with integrity . . ." (v. 15). The text promises that the righteous "will dwell in the heights" or "will find refuge in the citadel built on rock" (v. 16), metaphors which probably imply that the Lord himself somehow protects them from his devouring wrath.

⁴¹ This process, commonly called "smelting," was the method that was discovered as a way to process ("to purify") metal-bearing ores. Modern technology has merely improved upon these ancient methods; see B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi* (Atlanta, 1987), pp. 142–53.

Malachi takes these same images and refines them so as to present the clearest prophetic images of the dual functioning of fire within an apocalyptic scenario. "The day of his coming," we are told, will be like a "refiner's fire" and "he will purify the sons of Levi and refine them like gold and silver" (Mal 3:2–3). In contrast, when it comes to "the arrogant and all evildoers" among God's people, "the day that comes shall burn them up" (Mal 4:1) like straw in an oven. Hence, the terrifying fire of the final judgment will serve to purify some of God's people and to consume others. At this point the duality of the burning process is complete and the climate is set for a new understanding of *Did* 16.5.

Dual Function of Fire in Early Christian Literature

The NT provides nearly fifty instances of eschatological fire. In these contexts fire functions predominantly to destroy. In two places, however, one finds obscure texts which suggest that fire might play a role in saving the elect—1 Cor 3:13–15 and 1 Pet 1:5–7; 4:12–13:

1) The first text clearly speaks of the final judgment as "the fire which will test what sort of work each one has done" (1 Cor 3:13). Even in the case of those whose works are destroyed by this fire, however, it would seem that they would be capable of being personally saved οὕτως δὲ ὡς διὰ πυρός (but only as through fire, 1 Cor 3:15). One might be tempted to interpret this as an allusion to the approving and purifying functions of the eschatological fire. Lacking further particulars, however, Paul's precise meaning here must remain obscure.⁴²

2) The texts from 1 Peter are even more obscure and seemingly imply that "the burning process for your testing" (1 Pet 4:12) takes place prior to the return of Christ, and is to be identified with "the many kinds of trials you suffer" (1 Pet 1:6) and with being "reproached for the name of Christ" (1 Pet 4:14).⁴³ How this present testing by

⁴² What it means to be saved "but only as through fire" (1 Cor 3:15) is difficult to discern. Even Ratzinger (1988) would allow the text to be understood "in terms of the Lord himself as the judging fire which transforms us and conforms us to his own glorified body" (p. 229). In this respect he considers the text to be in harmony with the later Christian doctrine of purgatory. Other scholars, however, have interpreted the text apart from the notion of "purifying fire"; see J. Gnilka, *Ist 1 Kor 3,10–15 ein Schriftzeugnis für das Fegfeuer?* (Düsseldorf, 1955); H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* (Philadelphia, 1975), pp. 76–77; G.D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, 1987), p. 144.

⁴³ Ernest Best interprets the "fiery ordeal" as the messianic woes which were expected just prior to the final judgment (1 Pet 4:17–18) and which will open the new age; see Best, *1 Peter* (London, 1971), pp. 162–63; D.C. Arichea et al., *A Translator's Handbook on the First Letter from Peter* (New York, 1980), pp. 142–47.

fire is related to the eschatological testing is unclear. Furthermore, since “the burning process for your testing” (1 Pet 4:12) is seemingly provoked by the enemies of Christ, this cannot be equated with the prophetic images that were considered above nor with “the burning process of testing” in the *Didache* which has, as its first function, to halt the reign of evil under the direction of the “world-deceiver” (*Did* 16.4).

Within the Christian apocalyptic literature of the second century, the eschatological fire was sometimes portrayed as an event which has a dual function. Two instances will be considered:

1) The *Shepherd of Hermas* (variously dated from the late-first to early-second centuries) concerns itself with the necessity of repentance for those saints who have sinned following baptism. To effect this repentance, at one point God is seen to send “the angel of punishment” to seek out backsliders in order to punish them with “various tortures belonging to the present life” (*HermSim* 6.3). Those who submit to this present purification appear to be promised a certain immunity from the “impending tribulation” (*HermVis* 4.2). This end-time tribulation is imaged as the attack of a great beast which has four colors on its head: “[first it was] black, then fiery and blood-red, then gold, then white” (*HermVis* 4.1.10).

The significance of these successive colors is explained as designations for four stages or elements within the end-time scenario:

- [1] The black is this world in which you dwell;
- [2] (and) the fiery and blood-red [is next]
because it is necessary that this world perish by blood and fire (πυρὸς);
- [3] (and) the golden part [are then] you
who have escaped from this [perishing] world;
for just as gold is tested (δοκιμάζεται) through fire and becomes of good use,
thus you also are being tested in yourselves.
Now the ones having remained [firm] (μείναντες) and having passed through the fire (πυρωθέντες)
will be purified by it (ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταρισθήσεσθε).
Just as gold casts off its dross,
thus [by this means]
(a) you will cast off all sorrow and tribulation
(b) and you will be purified (καθαρισθήσεσθε)

(c) and shall be useful for the building of the tower
[which is a symbol for the perfected church].

- [4] (And) the white portion is the coming age, in which the chosen of God will dwell, because the ones having been chosen by God will be spotless and pure (καθαροί) in everlasting life. (*HermVis* 4.3.2–5)⁴⁴

What this symbolic language makes clear is that the elect will become spotless and pure only by having passed through the purifying fire—the same fire, it would appear, that has the effect of destroying this world. What is clear from both the larger context (esp. *HermVis* 4.1.8) and from this explanation is that Christians are encouraged to surrender themselves to the impending tribulation and to the purifying fire. It is difficult to decide, however, whether this therapeutic fire is associated with the end-time tribulation which has already begun or whether this fire is of a decidedly different and entirely future order. In any case, *Hermas* provides a clear instance of apocalyptic imagery in which fire functions with a dual purpose: 1) the “black” world is destroyed; while 2) those “who remain steadfast . . . pass through the fire” in order to be “purified by it” (*HermVis* 4.3.4).

2) The Christian *Sibylline Oracles* (second century B.C.E.) are preoccupied with the presentation of sobering visions of the end-time as a stimulus to repentance and perseverance. In the apocalyptic scenario of the second book, the angels gather all mortals before God’s judgment seat (2.237). Meanwhile, Christ returns on a cloud “with his blameless angels” (2.242) to judge with the Almighty. The judgment is tersely described as follows:

And then shall all pass through the burning river and unquenchable flame; and the righteous shall all be saved, but the impious shall perish. (*SibOr* 2.252–54)⁴⁵

This text makes it clear that the same fire is experienced by both the impious and the righteous, but with two diametrically opposed results. The novelty that is introduced within the *Sibyllines* consists in the suggestion that the angels of the Lord function within the fire in

⁴⁴ Translated with the assistance of Carol Andreini.

⁴⁵ Translation from W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 716.

two distinct ways: 1) the impious are bound and scourged by angels; while 2) those “who took thought for justice and noble works” (2.313) are rescued by angels and brought to the promised land. The following texts illustrate this:

The angels of the immortal, everlasting God shall punish fearfully with flaming whips, binding them [the impious] tightly about with fiery chains. (*SibOr* 2.286–89)

Angels shall bear them [the righteous] through the burning river and bring them to light and to a carefree life, where runs the immortal path of [our] great God. (*SibOr* 2.315–17)

The *Sibyllines* purport to portray a God who says, “I bring all persons to proof by fire” (8.411). Yet, in practice, fire functions here quite differently than it does in *Hermas*: 1) relative to the enemies of God, the metaphor of fire is here seen to be moving away from a destroying to a punishing function; and 2) relative to the elect, rather than being purified by the fire, now they are seemingly only rescued from it. This becomes more evident when the text notes that “to the pious, when they ask eternal God, he will grant them to save men out of the devouring fire and from everlasting torments” (2.331–33). Thus, while the *Sibyllines* portray a final judgment in which both the righteous and the impious pass through fire, the saving power of the fire has been completely lost in favor of an emphasis upon the power of fire to torment the wicked. In effect, therefore, one has here an early step toward the medieval notion of hellfire. “Purgatory,” in this schema, is reduced to a limited time within that hellfire.

All of this indicates that the dual function of the eschatological fire was the preferred metaphor for God’s final judgment long before Clement of Alexandria and Origen gave it theological precision within the Christian message. In *Hermas*, more importantly, one finds the clearest instance of a continuity with the purifying eschatological fire that is found in the prophetic literature. Paradoxically, one also finds here the closest parallel to the troublesome text of *Did* 16.5b, including a specific reference to “the ones having remained firm” (οἱ μέιναντες instead of οἱ ὑπομείναντες) as a forward glance toward being purified ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ (by it [the fire]). The agent of purification (which is a metaphor for salvation) here is clearly the πῦρ (fire). While it cannot be shown that this is the meaning that is intended by *Did* 16.5b, *Hermas* does at least testify that the eschatological fire could be understood as destructive or as purificatory by some circles.

The Christian *Sibyllines*, on the other hand, illustrate that the theme of a universal passing through fire which bore dualistic effects could be used in a setting in which the purifying effect of the fire was entirely displaced by the punitive effect. The fact that *Did* 16.5 allows for the “destruction” of the unjust would seemingly indicate that the *Didache* did not follow this route. Nonetheless, the *Sibyllines* do show that alternate schemes were being developed in which angels were assigned a specific role, that is, to save the elect as they passed through the river of fire.⁴⁶

Whether the Didache had a Lost Ending

One final difficulty must be treated. According to the end-time scenario of the *Didache*, the destruction of the lawless, the purification of the faithful, and the selective resurrection of the just occur prior to the Lord’s coming.⁴⁷ Robert Kraft reflects upon this as follows:

In fact, it may be that 16:5 is intended as a reference to the judgment taking place *before* the Lord’s return (but then, what does “the world” mean in 16:8a?), and that the *Didache* should end as in MS H, without further reference to judgment. The resurrection of 16:6–7, in any case, is only for “the saints,” as a reward for endurance and a sign of triumph.⁴⁸

Kraft might also have questioned whether the resurrection of the saints likewise represents an effective presence of the Lord prior to his appearance. For myself, this is unusual but not inconceivable when it comes to apocalyptic scenarios. The final coming of the Lord in glory to gather the elect into the kingdom (*Did* 16.8 supported by 9.4 and 10.5) needs to occur unimpeded by the world-deceiver and his followers. Accordingly, the *Didache* envisions the Lord’s judgment coming upon the earth, first, to break the power of the world-deceiver and to destroy all hindrances to the kingdom. Thereafter the signs of truth appear: 1) the unfurling banner;⁴⁹ 2) the sound of the

⁴⁶ The theme of angels who protect the elect and punish the wicked in the eschatological fire is addressed in greater detail in the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter*. In later medieval works, the fallen angels were assigned the task to punish the wicked in the everlasting fires of hell.

⁴⁷ Scholars are not in agreement as to whether *Did* 16.8 anticipates the coming of the Lord God or, rather, the Lord Jesus. Given the fact that the *Didache* never speaks of “the Lord’s return” and that the coming of the Lord is situated immediately after the citation of Zech 14:5, the Lord God would seem to be understood.

⁴⁸ R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (New York, 1965), p. 176.

⁴⁹ The sign of the ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ (spreading-out in the heaven, *Did* 16.6) has frequently been interpreted in one of two ways: 1) the sky opening to make way

trumpet,⁵⁰ and 3) the resurrection of the just.⁵¹ Each of these prepares for the fulfillment of Zech 14:5b when "all the holy ones" come with him into his kingdom. Even Zechariah 14 offers the decisive battle and destruction of the wicked prior to Zech 14:5b. Immediately thereafter the perfection of the everlasting kingdom of the Lord is described (Zech 14:6–11).

Most scholars have argued on the basis of the supposed "lost ending" of the *Didache*, however, that the final judgment only occurs after *Did* 16.8. The original Bryennios manuscript which was copied by a scribe in C.E. 1056 has a space of seven blank lines (2.5 in.) at the end of 16.8. In no other instance did the scribe leave such a large space at the end of the eighteen texts which were copied. On the other hand, the next leaf of velum begins the first of thirteen Ignatian epistles. It is certainly possible that the scribe preferred to start the new set of Ignatian letters on a fresh page. And yet, given the fact that the scribe did not have the habit of leaving spaces before the beginning of other works, it could be surmised that the end of the scroll from which the *Didache* was copied had broken off or had been effaced. Hence, the space could be a clue to a "lost ending."

In point of fact, we do possess two later editions of the *Didache* which have longer endings: the Georgian version and the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The seventh book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is especially valuable because it represents a moderately edited version of the *Didache* which was included into a larger church manual that was compiled

for the appearance of the Lord; or 2) an obscure reference to the spreading-out of Jesus' arms on the cross, hence, by extension, as a reference to the cross itself. While the first chapter of the second-century *Apocalypse of Peter* has the cross preceding Jesus as he returns in glory to judge the living and the dead, the internal logic of the *Didache* works against such an interpretation. Jonathan A. Draper makes a convincing case that this sign should be regarded as a totem which signals to the elect that they are to gather for the inauguration of the Lord's kingdom (as expressed in *Did* 9.4; 10.5); see Draper, "The Development of 'The Sign of the Son of Man' in the Jesus Tradition," *NTS* 39 (1993), pp. 1–21. That this totem would be "a pole with a cross-piece and a symbolic figure mounted on it" (p. 14), however, seems too closely tied to Draper's surmise that it is the Lord Jesus and not the Lord God who is coming (see p. 15 n. 47).

⁵⁰ The trumpet call is a familiar image in apocalyptic literature (e.g., Rev 8:6–8, 10, 12–13; 9:1, 13; 10:7; 11:15) and is associated with the call of the people to assemble (at the totem?). In 1 Thess 4:16 and 1 Cor 15:52 the trumpet call precedes the raising of the dead to life. Hence, this would help to explain its placement here in the *Didache* immediately prior to the raising of the dead.

⁵¹ The selective resurrection of the just, the "holy ones" (*Did* 16.7), makes it unnecessary that they should pass through "the burning process of testing."

around C.E. 380. The longer ending that is found here has been widely accepted as proof for a "lost ending" of the *Didache* which can or must be accepted as that text which fits into the last seven lines of the Bryennios manuscript. Willy Rordorf, with his usual caution, suggests that this paraphrase "most likely allows us to gain an idea of the conclusion of the *Didache* which disappeared."⁵² The ending of the *Apostolic Constitutions* reads as follows:

Then the Lord and the holy ones will come with him in a commotion above the clouds with his force of angels [he being] on the throne of the kingdom

- a) to judge the world-deceiver, [the] devil,
- b) and to repay each one according to his deed.

Then, on the one hand, the evil ones will go into eternal punishment, but, on the other hand, the holy ones will go into eternal life

inheriting those things which eye did not see and ear did not hear . . .
(*Const* 7.32.4)⁵³

There are three reasons why this cannot represent the "lost ending" of the *Didache*. These are as follows:

1) The *Apostolic Constitutions* has the arrival of the Lord to judge the world-deceiver at this point precisely because the entire section with respect to "the burning process of testing" (viz., *Did* 16.5) has been dropped. Since the power of the world-deceiver is unchecked at the time of the Lord's coming, it is imperative that he come "with his force of angels."

2) The *Apostolic Constitutions* has the Lord repay "each one according to his deed" at this point because, unlike the case of the *Didache*, all (both the good and the wicked) are raised from the dead (*Const* 7.32.3). When the selective resurrection is removed, then it follows that judgment is necessary by way of reward or punishment for those who are to be raised to life.

3) The *Apostolic Constitutions* appears to support a cultural anthropology in which "eternal punishment" is the fate of the unrighteous. But for the *Didache* the Way of Life is contrasted with the Way of Death. And, in the end, the world-deceiver and his lot are utterly destroyed, not punished. As for the wicked who are dead, the *Didache* takes a consistent position, preferring to envision them as forever

⁵² Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 199. Jean-Paul Audet offers an extended argument in favor of the "long ending"; see Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), pp. 73-78.

⁵³ This analytical translation was prepared by Carol Andreini.

dead, not forever punished. Death, therefore, is the fate of the wicked; life in the kingdom is the fate of the saints.

The so-called "lost ending" of the *Didache*, if indeed there were ever any "lost ending," would thus certainly not be the longer ending which is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In fact, the very removal of *Did* 16.5 from the *Apostolic Constitutions* is an indirect testimony that this section of the *Didache* was no longer adequately understood or adequately appreciated as the final judgment. Hence, the ending of the apocalyptic scenario had to be refashioned in order to fit the images and metaphors which were meaningful to its new readers. The longer ending, therefore, is a testimony to the frailty of culturally and historically conditioned understandings.

Conclusion

The investigation which has been summarized above leads toward a recommendation for an improved reading of *Did* 16.5. Up to this point, the majority of scholars have explained the puzzling phrase "saved by the curse itself" as a veiled reference to the crucified Christ who "became a curse for us" (Gal 3:13). This solution, however, risks the transposition of a horizon of understanding into the *Didache* which is foreign to the internal logic of the text itself. When the text is examined on its own grounds, the term δοκιμασία (testing) would appear to suggest that both positive and negative results are anticipated. Furthermore, when the metaphor of fire is investigated in the prophetic and apocalyptic literature, multiple instances appear which support the notion that a dual effect was being assigned to the eschatological fire. Given the linguistic parallelism within the text, therefore, the possibility remains that the *Didache* had in mind that the elect were to be "saved by the accursed [burning process] itself" (*Did* 16.5).

The *Didache* does not expressly define the way that this salvation was to be effected by fire. One can surmise, however, that the prophetic tradition which was so respected by the *Didache*⁵⁴ might have provided the necessary background for an answer to this question. The Jewish prophets that have been investigated here looked forward to

⁵⁴ The *Didache* expressly cites three texts as the words of the Lord: 1) *Did* 9.5 = *Gosp Thom* 93 = Mt 7:6; 2) *Did* 14.2 = Mal 1:11; and 3) *Did* 16.7 = Zech 14:5. Two of the three are taken from the prophetic writings.

the coming of God and to the destruction of the enemies of Israel with divine, burning judgment. These same prophets also knew that God's own people required purification: "Which of us can live with this devouring fire?" (Is 33:14). Out of this tradition came the response that the same fire which destroyed their enemies "like cut thorns" (Is 33:12) would serve to purify the elect using the metaphor of a smelter: "I [the Lord] will smelt away your dross in the furnace" (Is 1:25). Here, then, one finds a satisfying and internally consistent horizon of understanding by which to interpret *Did* 16.5.

In the end, subsequently, a troublesome text has pointed in a direction that is helpful for the discovery of invaluable clues with regard to the origins and character of "purgatorial fire." Le Goff was correct to name Clement of Alexandria and Origen as "the two Greek inventors of Purgatory" by way of his acknowledgment of what they did to give a sound theological formulation to the dual function of eschatological fire. What he omitted, however, was that Clement and Origen borrowed from the longer and deeper legacy of purifying fire which passes through *Hermas* and the *Didache* back to the ancient Jewish prophets. These prophets knew that the fire of God's judgment would destroy the evil enemies of Israel. They also knew that God's fierce standards of holiness would burn away and purify those among the chosen people who were tarnished by sin. The third-century Fathers, in their turn, had to confront the moral failures within their Christian congregations and had to ask the same question. These prudent pastors borrowed from the Jewish prophets the image of God's fiery judgment as the preferred metaphor by which those who were tarnished by minor sins were to be saved during the time of the final baptism in fire. This evocative image stood as a needed, life-giving hope for those Christians who knew themselves as neither so evil as to be utterly destroyed nor so unambiguously good as to be entirely approved. The development of the image of "purifying fire," as distinct from "destroying fire," thus became the moment of conception which in due course gave birth to the mature doctrine of purgatory which so inspired and sustained medieval Christians.

THE CURSE THAT SAVES (*DIDACHE* 16.5)

NANCY PARDEE

University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας,
καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν
τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος.

Then the creation of humanity will come into the fiery testing and many will stumble and perish, but those having endured in their faith will be saved by the Curse (the Accursed) itself.

It is generally acknowledged that, from an interpretative standpoint, these lines are some of the most problematic of the *Didache* and that the translation of the term κατάθεμα is especially enigmatic. It is true that “word studies” *can* make for rather dull reading. Nevertheless, the word κατάθεμα warrants particular attention, since hidden within this single word are clues to the theology of at least one early Christian (or Christian community), as well as historical insights into the development of Christian eschatology, soteriology, and Christology in general. Such clues are rare in the *Didache*, and it is clear that explicitly theological concerns were not a priority for its author(s). Unfortunately, the entity to which the term κατάθεμα refers is, like other aspects of the *Didache*, elusive. From a linguistic perspective it must be presupposed that, unless our present text is corrupt here, the original audience understood the meaning of the wording. Still, the *Apostolic Constitutions* shows that by the fourth century the term had become either incomprehensible or unacceptable, and it has remained a puzzle to this day.¹

The translation of κατάθεμα *per se* is not difficult. The standard glosses which are used for the word are “accursed thing” and “curse,”

¹ *Const* 7.32.2 omits κατάθεμα altogether, thus to make the verse parallel to Mt 10:22; 24:13 (οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες εἰς τέλος, οὗτοι σωθήσονται). For the text, see M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions apostoliques 3* (Paris, 1987), p. 64. The Georgian text of *Did* 16.5, according to the German translation of G. Peradse, reads “werden dadurch gerettet, sogar von diesem furchtbaren Fluch”; see Peradse, “Die ‘Lehre der zwölf Apostel’ in der georgischen Überlieferung,” *ZNW* 31 (1932), p. 116. This would seemingly understand κατάθεμα as a reference to the fiery testing/destruction; see R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (New York, 1965), p. 176.

the second meaning having arisen metonymically from the first. But in *Did* 16.5, what is the accursed thing/curse that “saves”? The author here seems consciously to employ the rhetorical figure of paranomasia (i.e., a play on words) between σώζω and κατάθεμα.² The resulting irony begs the question of how a curse or its object is able to save the faithful. Moreover, such irony is enhanced within a Jewish milieu, because whatever had been classified as ἀνάθεμα (a word that is closely related to κατάθεμα) in the biblical stories of the settlement of Canaan often had to be destroyed by fire. In the *Didache*, however, something that should be destroyed by fire actually saves others from such a fate.

Throughout the history of the interpretation of the *Didache* the term κατάθεμα has been widely understood as a covert reference to Christ, that is, it is Christ who will save the faithful from the fiery testing.³ More recently, however, several scholars have proposed that the word instead refers back to the testing itself, with the meaning that the fiery ordeal saves persons by *purifying* them.⁴ If this latter interpreta-

² Also note the “traditional” semantic opposition between σώζω and ἀπόλλυμι; see *BAGD*, s.v. “ἀπόλλυμι” (with examples given).

³ E.g., A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 62–63; B.C. Butler, “The Literary Relations of *Didache*, Ch. XVI,” *JThS* NS 11(1960), pp. 275–76; S. Giet, *L'énigme de la Didachè* (Paris, 1970), pp. 251–52; C.C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (New York, 1970), p. 179 n. 78; K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), p. 99 n. 137; H.R. Seeliger, “Erwägungen zu Hintergrund und Zweck des apokalyptischen Schlußkapitels der *Didache*,” *StPatr* 21 (Leuven, 1989), p. 190. This interpretation is preferred also by W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 197–98 n. 6; and, more recently, by K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 263–65; G. Schöllgen, “*Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre*,” in G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991), pp. 79, 137. A summary of early interpretations is found in P. Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual Called The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (New York, 1886), pp. 215–16. Jean-Paul Audet proposed the translation “tomb” or “death,” with support for this interpretation by the derivation of κατάθεμα from κατατίθημι, a verb which can sometimes refer to burial, and by emendation of ὑπό to ἀπό in accordance with his understanding of the collation of the Georgian version; see Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), pp. 472–73; followed by P. Nautin, “La composition de la ‘Didachè’ et son titre,” *RHR* 78 (1959), p. 214. Without this emendation such a meaning does not fit the context of *Did* 16.5, nor does it fit any of the other passages which use κατάθεμα (though it is possible that the κατά of κατάθεμα may reflect the practice of “burying” curse tablets; see n. 8 below).

⁴ See J.A. Draper, “The Jesus Tradition in the *Didache*,” in D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives*, vol. 5 (Sheffield, 1984), p. 282; and see the essay of Aaron Milavec (“The Saving Efficacy of the Burning Process in *Didache* 16.5”) which appears in this volume.

tion is correct, it has implications in the areas of theological anthropology, soteriology, and Christology. For example, in what respect does humanity need salvation? How is this salvation effected? And what is the role of the messiah in this salvation? The purpose of this essay, then, is to present the results of my investigation into the term *κατάθεμα* and to use this information to clarify the translation of *Did* 16.5. I should say from the outset that, while the most recent proposal is not without merit, I still believe that the evidence favors the retention of the traditional interpretation, that is, for the writer of *Did* 16.5 it is Jesus who saves the faithful. While such a study cannot prove this translation, I hope nevertheless that it will make progress toward a more complete understanding of the context and will give a sound basis for future investigations.

The term *κατάθεμα* is rare and seems to be a creation of the Judaism of the Greco-Roman period. On the one hand, the term occurs virtually only in Jewish and Christian texts. On the other, it is found not more than four times prior to or within the writings of the NT. The word is almost certainly a direct development from *ἀνάθημα*/*ἀνάθεμα*,⁵ a noun which is derived from the verb *ἀνατίθημι*, and thus it is with this term that an inquiry into *κατάθεμα* must start. Etymologically, the term *ἀνάθημα*/*ἀνάθεμα* means “that which is set up,”⁶ and it comes to have as its primary meaning “something devoted, something offered,” especially in a religious context. The verbal forms of *ἀνέθηκεν*/*-καν* (= third singular/plural aorist active indicative) in fact are often found in inscriptions which accompany these *ἀναθήματα*. The noun *ἀνάθημα*/*ἀνάθεμα* is also used as a self-identification on rare occasion.

The earliest form of the term, *ἀνάθημα* (with the letter *η*), is widespread and often used in a general way to refer to sacred or public offerings. Sometimes, however, specific entities are identified

⁵ The development of substantives with the ending *-μα* was “exceedingly popular in Koine as in Ionic” (*BDF/BDR* 109.2), which accounts for the antiquity of the word (as early as Homer) as well as for its continual adaptation. The term *ἀνάθεμα*, with *ε* instead of *η*, is a hellenistic form: “where the final stem vowel preceding the suffixes *-σις* and *-της* (*-τος*) is short, Koine extends the short stem vowel to the corresponding formations in *-μα*,” thus *θέσις*, *θετός*, *θέμα*, *ἀνάθεμα*; see *BDR* 109.2; *BDF* 109.3 (and examples). *LSJ* lists one example of *θήμα* (elsewhere *θέμα*) from a fragment of Sophocles, but this is likely due to metrical lengthening, the *η/ε* variation of the stem vowel in the noun following that of the verb *τίθημι*, which has strong grade *η* and weak grade *ε*; see H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, 1956), nos. 28D, 36, 738.

⁶ *LSJ*, s.v. “ἀνάθημα.”

as ἀναθήματα, for example: Thucydides called a tripod which was dedicated for a military victory an ἀνάθημα (*Hist* 1.132.3.3); Aristotle included a statue as an ἀνάθημα (*AthCon* 7.4.6); Euripides showed that a person could be an ἀνάθημα, that is, someone who was dedicated for temple service (*Ion* 310);⁷ Diodorus Siculus (first century B.C.E.), when he writes about the treasures which were displayed at a Roman triumphal procession, includes among them certain πίνακες ἀναθηματικοί (note the spelling), that is, “dedicatory plaques” (*LibHist* 31.8.11); finally, Pausanias (second century C.E.) refers to a building which housed paintings as an ἀνάθημα (*GrDescr* 10.25.1.2). Thus the word could denote a wide range of physical entities. As the citation from Diodorus Siculus shows, the later form of ἀνάθεμα is encountered occasionally but with no discernible difference in meaning.

In Jewish and early Christian texts, however, ἀνάθημα/ἀνάθεμα more often has the meaning of “something accursed” or “curse.” These significances seem to be Jewish creations, since they are attested in only two places outside of Jewish and Christian literature, both of which may show Jewish influence. The first is a lead curse tablet from Megara, which is dated to the first or second century C.E.⁸ Adolf Deissmann believed that the discovery of this witness made it likely that the term was already known in the secular world and was not simply “biblical Greek,” though he did allow for the “remote” possibility that the text had been influenced by Jewish tradition, noting that “technical expressions in magic are of all places the most likely in which to assume that the international language had been influenced by Judaism.”⁹ Indeed, despite their strong belief in monotheism and the explicit prohibition against magical practices

⁷ One inscription, which is possibly Jewish and is dated to 41 C.E., even uses the concept of ἀνάθημα as a means of manumission (*CIJ* 690).

⁸ For the text, see A. Audollent, *Defixionum tabellae* (Paris, 1904), no. 41.A.5–6, 8–9; B.17. For collections and discussions of *tabulae execrationum*, see R. Wuensch, *Defixionum tabellae atticae* (Berlin, 1897); Audollent (1904); D.R. Jordan, “A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora,” *GRBS* 26 (1985), pp. 151–97 (where Jordan also mentions a new collection of *defixiones* that is in preparation). Jordan confirms earlier ideas that these tablets were almost always rolled as scrolls or folded, and were subsequently placed in tombs or other places that were associated with the underworld. Often they were pierced, apparently with nails (p. 152).

⁹ A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (London, 1927), pp. 95–96. In the curse tablet from Megara, the verb ἀναθεματίζω occurs twice, the substantive ἀνάθεμα (in the form ἀνέθεμα) only once and in enlarged letters at the end of the text as a sort of colophon. Deissmann translates this as “curse!” Such a final pronouncement may be the intent, but it should also be noted that this may be an imitation of a common form for an offering inscription. The most common verb of dedication

(e.g., Ex 20:7; Dt 5:11; 18:10–11; Lev 19:31) the Jews were not immune to their seduction. In fact, Josephus, Pliny, and others attest to the fact that the Jews were famous as magicians.¹⁰ As further evidence of the prominence of Jewish magic, one need only note that the *Greek Magical Papyri*, a Greco-Egyptian collection of magical formulae and rituals which were compiled around the fourth century C.E., contains forms of the name “Yahweh” as well as the names of some of the patriarchs.¹¹ Both the figures of Moses and Solomon

that was used in ancient Greek votive offerings was ἀνατίθῃμι, usually in the aorist tense; see M. Lazzarini, “Le formule delle dediche votive nella Grecia arcaica,” *AAALM* 19, ser. 8 (1976), p. 70, which includes inscriptions from the seventh-fourth centuries B.C.E. Often such inscriptions end with ἀνεθήκεν and occasionally with ἀνάθημα/ἀνάθεμα during the hellenistic period. For example,

Καρνεάδην Ἀζηνιέα
Ἄτταλος καὶ Ἀριαράθης Συνααλήττι[οι
ἀνέθηκαν.

This text is found in E.S. Roberts and E.A. Gardner, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1905), no. 235 (p. 457) and is dated to before 162 B.C.E.

[Πο. ? Κ]αρσίδιος Κρισπίνος Πα[
ἀνάθημα

This text is found in H. Engelmann, D. Knibbe, and R. Merkelback, *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, pt. 4 (Bonn, 1980), no. 1248 (p. 144); cf. *SEG* 16.722 where the text is dated to the second century C.E. In the first example, the verb presupposes that the item which is offered is the unstated subject, while in the second example, ἀνάθημα has become the explicit subject with the verb elided. In both cases the term is connected syntactically with what precedes. In the Megara curse tablet, however, ANEΘEMA is asyndetic, and is in what would be the position of a title in a text.

Among the attestations of these terms, the form ἀνάθεμα occurs with both meanings while ἀνάθημα, to my knowledge, is used in only two places in a “negative” way, in Deuteronomy (see p. 168 below) and in a curse tablet which previously was assigned to Kourion. (The origin of this group of tablets is now thought to be Amathous, according to D.R. Jordan and P. Aupert, “Magical Inscriptions on Talc Tablets from Amathous,” *AJA* 85 (1981), p. 184; Jordan (1985), p. 193.) Interestingly, this is also one of the tablets in the collection in which the term κατάρθεμα is found. For the text, see T. B. Mitford, *The Inscriptions of Kourion* (Philadelphia, 1971), no. 140.37; also Audollent (1904), no. 35.37. While Jordan and Aupert have “tentatively” dated these texts to the second century B.C.E., both Mitford (p. 277) and Wuensch ([1897], p. xviii) before him, dated them to the third century C.E. The original publisher put them no earlier than the middle of the first century C.E.; see L. MacDonald, “Inscriptions Relating to Sorcery in Cyprus,” *PSBA* 13 (1890–91), pp. 172–73. If the later dates are correct, the limitation of ἀναθήμα in the centuries B.C.E. to its primary, “positive” meaning (if not the result of a later editorial tendency toward lexical uniformity in Greek literature) helps to date the development of the secondary meaning “accursed thing, curse” to the appearance of ἀνάθεμα in the hellenistic period, the same time as when the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek was taking place (= LXX).

¹⁰ Josephus *AJ* 8.45–49; Juvenal *Satire* 6.542–47; Pliny *NatHist* 30.2.11; Tob 6:7, 13–14; Origen *ConCels* 4.34; Justin *Dial* 85.3.

¹¹ *PGM* 1.220; 4.3009–85; 22b.1–26; 35.

had evolved as legendary magicians.¹² Finally, the discovery of the *Sepher ha Razim*, a Jewish book of magic from the third or fourth century C.E., confirms these reports.¹³ Given this situation, it is important to note that this example of the use of the term ἀνάθεμα with the meaning “curse” may contain *voces magicæ*, that is “magical” words of incomprehensible syllables and patterns, as for example, σεκντηπαφονοχαι and the words αβραικοις (A.12)/αβραικωντε (A.15), which may be related to the magical divine name αβρασαξ.¹⁴ This argues for the possibility that the influence of Jewish magic accounts for the use of ἀνάθεμα. The second instance is the form ἀνάθημα which is found towards the end of a curse tablet from Amathous.¹⁵ Again, however, there is thought to be a Jewish character to this tablet, for example, the words ἄδωνεία and Ιαω, and T.B. Mitford considers it certain that such a curse was drafted by a Jewish sorcerer.¹⁶

Again, the relatively late date of the *negative* meaning of ἀνάθεμα in secular texts is demonstrated by the ancient *tabulae execrationum*, which are tablets (most often of lead) upon which curses were written.¹⁷ The verb ἀνατίθημι occurs in only one group of such texts, the collection of thirteen tablets which were discovered by Newton in Cnidus and are dated to the second-first century B.C.E.¹⁸ Here it is the operative verb on only four of the tablets, and two of these are included solely through reconstruction.¹⁹ Alternatively, the verb ἀνιερώ is found, here too as another example of “dedication” with a negative connotation. But the Cnidus tablets again are the sole example of this phenomenon. Even in the Septuagint the term ἀνατίθημι is not used in a negative sense and, instead, the denominative verb ἀναθεματίζω²⁰ is employed, which conversely seems to have *only* this

¹² Moses: *PGM* 7.620 —“Diadem of Moses”; *PGM* 13—“Eighth Book of Moses”; *PGM* 13.21, 31—“Key of Moses”; *PGM* 13.970—“Archangel of Moses”; Apuleius *Apol* 90; Strabo *Geog* 16.2.36–39; *Demotic Papy* 5.14, *verso* 12.6. Solomon: *WisdSol* 7:17–21; Josephus *AJ* 8.45; *PGM* 4.3040.

¹³ Text in M. Margalioth, *Sepher Ha-Razim* (Jerusalem, 1966). Translation in M. Morgan, *Sepher Ha-Razim* (Chico, 1983).

¹⁴ Audollent (1904), p. 76.

¹⁵ See n. 9 above. Text in Mitford (1971), no. 140.37; Audollent (1904), no. 35.37.

¹⁶ Mitford (1971), p. 134.

¹⁷ See n. 8 above.

¹⁸ For the date of these tablets, see W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Knidos*, pt. 1 (Bonn, 1992), p. 85.

¹⁹ For the texts see Audollent (1904), nos. 1–13. Unlike other curse tablets, it seems that these from Cnidus were originally put on a wall, i.e., in public view. For a discussion of this, see Blümel (1992), p. 85. This “setting up” of the tablet may be the reason behind the use of ἀνατίθημι and ἀνιερώ in these texts.

²⁰ The development of -ίζειν verbs from neuter nouns which end in -μα was

negative sense. Consequently, the expansion of ἀνάθεμα to include the activity of cursing within its semantic range, as in the Cnidus tablets, seems to be a development which proceeded from the noun to the verb and not *vice versa*.

Moreover, the relatively late development of the term κατάθεμα is demonstrated by the fact that it is not attested in the Septuagint, but rather only the terms ἀνάθεμα/ἀναθεματίζω. These latter words are used without exception only as translation values for the Hebrew root חרם. In the Hebrew Bible the noun חרם often denotes something which is devoted to God, but most often emphasizes that this object is classified as forbidden, according to the Deuteronomistic interpretation, because of its connection with idolatry. Such things usually were to be destroyed, lest Israel itself become חרם through contact with them. In these passages the word ἀνάθεμα is usually given as the Greek translation. Less frequently, the term חרם seems to have designated something which was more abstract, the status of separation as such (often translated into English as “ban”) and/or the implied destruction. In fact, as a verb (which is only extant in the hiphil/hophal forms) the word חרם almost always denoted this latter activity. For these meanings the Greek words ἀνάθεμα/ἀναθεματίζω are occasionally used as translations in the Septuagint, but often other Greek terms were selected. In the case of the substantive חרם, the Septuagint shows a tendency to choose other Greek terms when the context demanded the meaning of “ban” or “destruction.”²¹ This is seen especially in the translation of the verb, since חרם commonly means “destroy.” Yet only about a fourth of its occurrences are translated by the word ἀναθεματίζω, and even among these, several passages show that such a gloss was problematic (cf. 1 Sam 15:3 and Judg 1:17, where ἀναθεματίζω is supplemented by explicit verbs of destruction). This phenomenon helps to delimit the range of ἀνάθεμα before it was taken into the Septuagint, namely, one can see that the term did not include the semantics of

also common in *koiné* Greek; see *BDR/BDF* 108.3.

²¹ An exception may be Zech 14:11, though the translation of חרם/ἀνάθεμα here is uncertain. Also, in Dt 13:15(16) and 20:17, passages which concern the destruction of pagan peoples, the Hebrew finite verb and finite verb + infinitive absolute respectively are translated by the Greek noun + finite verb. In the former case, however, the Hebrew may denote the conferral of the status of חרם and not destruction, while in the latter the use of the Greek ἀνάθεμα/ἀναθεματίζω may be influenced by an attempt to imitate the syntax of the Hebrew, though this cognate construction is also found in Acts 23:14.

cursing and destruction prior to Jewish influence. On the other hand, it seems that the primary meaning which was given to ἀναθεματίζω must have been “to curse,” that is, with the “ban” (cf. Dt 13:16). Occasionally, however, the commonality of the Greek and Hebrew nouns in their primary meanings sometimes caused the use of the Greek noun and verb at times to translate חרם, even when the meanings of the Greek and Hebrew diverged.

Finally, in the deuterocanonical portion of the Septuagint the term ἀνάθεμα occurs only once, and there with its primary sense of “offering, gift.” The form ἀναθεματίζω is found once as well and in a context which seems to mean “pronounce the ban.”²²

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide a body of literature that is closer in time to that of early Christianity. Within these texts the term חרם is attested only a handful of times and in general these seem to fit the semantic range of the root in the Hebrew Bible, though in certain places some development can be found. In the *Temple Scroll* (11QT) the word חרם occurs in passages which are quoted from or allude to the Pentateuch (11QT 2.10–11 = Dt 7:26; 11QT 55.7, 11 = Dt 13:16, 18; 11QT 60.5 = a combination of passages; 11QT 62.14 = Dt 20:17). It is interesting that in three of the four texts which are cited (i.e., 11QT 2.10–11; 55.7, 11; 62.14), the writer specifically associates the term חרם with idolatry, either as a status of “taboo” (2.10–11; 55.11) or as the complete destruction of pagan peoples (55.7; 62.14). In the *War Scroll* (1QM) the meaning clearly involves “destruction.” The author of 1QM 9.7 instructs the reader that the cavalry (of the final, eschatological battle) is to pursue the enemy until חרם (complete destruction) is achieved. And in 18.5 again, battle shall be engaged in order להחרים (to annihilate the enemy). The word חרם in the *Copper Scroll* (3Q15) was used to indicate that a site contained sacred, and therefore taboo, items. Exactly what is classified as חרם is not specified, but it likely refers to sacred vessels or offerings of some sort.

בשית שיכצפון פי הצוק של בית
חמר בצחיאת נר פלע
כל שכה חרם

3Q15 9.14–16

Dans la fosse qui se trouve au nord de l'entrée à la gorge de Bet Tamar dans le terrain peirreux (près) du Cairn de la Broussaille: tout ce qui y est, est anathème.

²² For ἀνάθεμα, see 2 Macc 2:13; for ἀναθεματίζω, see 1 Macc 5:5.

והכן אצלם

בהבסה ראש הסלע הצופא מערב
נדר ננת צדוק תחת המסמא ה
נדולא שבשילוחו חרם {ב}

3Q15 11.4-7

Et tout près de là, dans la concession (située) au sommet du rocher orienté ouest, en face de la cour (du tombeau) de Sadoq, sous la grande pierre plate qui se trouve dans son conduit d'eau: anathème! [or perhaps "est anathème"]²³

In these three Dead Sea Scroll documents, then, the meaning of חרם falls within the semantic range of the Hebrew Bible.²⁴

In the *Damascus Document* (CD), which is one of the earliest texts that is represented in the scrolls' sectarian literature, however, a development of the term חרם in the cultic sense of the devotion of objects to Yahweh is found. The writer refers to a misuse of the declaration of חרם whereby people employ such vows in order to legitimate morally questionable actions. In CD 6.15 the text reads,

ולתנור מהון הרשעה הטמא בנדר ובחרם ובהון המקדש

To refrain from the unclean wealth of wickedness (acquired) by vowing and devoting and in appropriating the wealth of the sanctuary.

and in 16.14-15:

אל[] יקדש איש את מאכל פ[]יהו לא[]ל
כי הוא אשר אמר איש את רעידו
יצ[]ו חרם

And let no man declare holy the food of his mouth to God, for that is what He said: "They trap each man his neighbour with a vow."²⁵

The context in these passages shows that the term חרם is used in the sense of "sacred offering" (even though the citation in CD 16.15 is from Mi 7:2, which actually uses the homonym חרם with the meaning of "net"). In both of these passages the writer seems to criticize the improper use of vows as a means by which to offer something to Yahweh which, instead, should be used to benefit someone who is in need. Scholars have noted the similarity to the narrative in Mk 7:11//

²³ Text and original translation in *DJD* 3.294, 296-97 (cf. the commentary on p. 249 no. 117).

²⁴ In several Nabatean funerary inscriptions, חרם is the sacred status which is conferred (or the conferring of sacred status) upon the grave site and sometimes upon the inscription itself by placing it under divine protection; cf. *CIS* 197.8-9; 199.3, 7; 206.2-3.

²⁵ C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 24-25, 76-77.

Mt 15:5, where the status of קרבן is misused as a way by which to avoid charitable giving, in this case to one's own parents. Apparently such misuse had become all too common, since it is mentioned by Philo (*SpecLeg* 2.12–23) and in rabbinic literature.²⁶ And these passages perhaps also explain the last occurrence of the term חרם at CD 9.1:

כל אדם אשר יחרים אדם מאדם בחוקי הנזים להמית הוא

Every man who declares a man to be herem with respect to others shall be put to death according to the laws of the gentiles.²⁷

Here the text is a citation that is adapted from Lev 27:29

כל־חרם אשר יחרם מן־האדם לא יפדה מות יומת

This verse speaks to the issue of the inability to redeem a person who has been devoted to Yahweh. In the *Damascus Document*, however, the meaning is more than simply “devote,” but rather appears to incorporate the meaning of “destroy,” albeit in some pseudo-religious sense. That a חרם could serve as a screen in this way is once again illustrated by the passage in Philo:

εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ ὁμνύουσιν, ἐὰν τύχη, κλοπὰς καὶ ἱεροσυλίας ἢ φθορὰς καὶ μοιχείας ἢ τραύματα καὶ σφαγὰς ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων κακῶν ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ἀνυπερθέτως αὐτὰ δρῶσι ποιούμενοι πρόφασιν τὸ εὐορκεῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἄμεινον καὶ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον μᾶλλον τῆς <οὐ> παραβάσεως τῶν ὄρκων τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν....

For there are some who swear at random to commit acts of theft and sacrilege or rape and adultery or assaults and murders or other similar crimes and carry them out without hesitation on the pretext that they must be faithful to their oaths, as though it were not better and more pleasing to God to abstain from wrongdoing than to abstain from breaking their oaths. (*SpecLeg* 2.13)²⁸

In the *Damascus Document* the penalty for such an act is death, but only in accordance with the laws of the political authorities. Thus, here it is not the concept of חרם as such that has changed, but in some instances it is “a good idea gone bad.”

Finally, a verbal form of חרם appears in an Aramaic fragment from Cave 4, 1 Enoch 6.5–6 (4QEn^a 1.3.1–5), in the story of the

²⁶ Cf. *TDNT*, s.v. “κορβαῖν”; *Str-B* 1.711–17.

²⁷ For the text, see Rabin (1958), p. 45 (the translation is my own).

²⁸ Text and translation by F.H. Colson, *Philo* (Cambridge, 1937).

Watchers who conspire to take human females as wives. The parallel Greek witnesses²⁹ translate the term 𐤇𐤓𐤏 as ἀναθεματίζω, and the extant Greek text from 6.4–5 reads:

ἀπεκρίθησαν οὖν αὐτῷ πάντες Ὁμόσωμεν ὄρκῳ πάντες καὶ ἀναθεματίσωμεν πάντες ἀλλήλους μὴ ἀποστρέψαι τὴν γνώμην ταύτην, μέχρις οὗ ἂν τελέσωμεν αὐτὴν καὶ ποιήσωμεν τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. τότε ὅμοσαν πάντες ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἀλλήλους ἐν αὐτῷ.

And they all answered him and said: “Let us all swear an oath, and bind one another with imprecations that we shall not depart . . . from this plan until we carry it out and do this deed.” Then they all swore together and bound one another with imprecations.³⁰

The context shows that a vow occurs in order to ensure the complicity of the entire group, though the mechanics of the vow are unclear. The Greek reciprocal pronoun in the accusative case implies that the angels “anathematize” one another, perhaps in the sense that an individual who betrays his/her oath assumes the status of 𐤇𐤓𐤏 (unfortunately the Aramaic is not extant). This section of 1 Enoch is thought to date from the first half of the second century B.C.E. (per Isaac, *OTP* 1.7). In a later section (105–104 B.C.E.; so Isaac, *OTP* 1.7), however, it may be that the term 𐤇𐤓𐤏/ἀνάθεμα is also used in connection once again with the problem of oaths that are used to avoid charitable giving. Some of the manuscripts read:

Woe to you who pronounce anathemas that you cannot loose; healing (will be) far from you because of your sin. (1 Enoch 95.4)³¹

Other witnesses attest the opposite reading—“that they may be loosed.”³² The text here is extant only in the Ethiopic. In any case, it is likely that the phrase *tawagezu gezatata* (pronounce anathemas) translates the term 𐤇𐤓𐤏/ἀνάθεμα, since the same root appears in 1 Enoch 6.5–6 and also in the Ethiopic gloss that appears in the translations of 1 Cor 12:3, 16:22, and Gal 1:8 (i.e., the texts where Paul uses ἀνάθεμα as a technical term for the pronouncement of judgment on an individual).³³

²⁹ For the Aramaic text, see J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford, 1976), p. 150; for the Greek text, see M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi graece* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 21, 37.

³⁰ Translation adapted from M. Black, *The Book of Enoch* (Leiden, 1985), p. 28.

³¹ Translation by M.A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1978), p. 228, who adds that the literal translation would be “in order not to loose (them).” Such wording would even better emphasize the wrongful intention behind such vows.

³² For a discussion, see Black (1985), pp. 297, 374.

³³ This is also one of the roots that is used in the Ethiopic translation of κατάθεμα in *Martisa* 5.9 (see below for a discussion). The root means “to cut, to cut off”

Finally, “to curse” is the sense that is found for the word ἀναθεματίζω in the curse tablet from Megara which was mentioned above. Moreover, the earliest attestation of the term κατάθεμα may be the occurrence of κατάθεμά σοι (a curse upon you) which appears in *LegIsa* 3.18, which represents *MartIsa* 5.9 (Eth.),³⁴ but the date of the translation is uncertain. While the *Martyrdom* may have originated in the second century B.C.E. (Knibb, *OTP* 2.149–50), the Greek *Legend about Isaiah* in which this text is found is a recast of an earlier Greek version, and the exact terminology may have been influenced by later church phraseology. The Ethiopic versions use the participle and second person pronoun which M.A. Knibb translates as “Condemned and accursed be you,” thus as a predicate adjective construction rather than as a substantive. On the other hand, the only “secular” witness for κατάθεμα is the group of curse tablets from Amathous, which usually are dated to the third century C.E.³⁵

From the combined evidence it is clear that at some point the word ἀνάθεμα developed beyond its original meaning of “offering” eventually to include the semantic field of cursing as well, that is, a “negative” side. From the evidence it also seems reasonable to conjecture that this development took place within the Jewish milieu. As has been stated above, the verb ἀνατίθημι which is used in the context of eliciting the aid of an underworld deity(-ies) against one’s enemies, that is, with a negative meaning, is found only in several of the curse tablets from Cnidus (second-first centuries B.C.E). The Septuagint, however, knows the verb ἀνατίθημι only in the original, positive

(*Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, s.v. “wgz”). In *MartIsa* 5.9 it is conjoined with the root “rgm,” the same root which is used to translate καταθεματίζω in Mt 26:74 (and ἀναθεματίζω in Mk 14:71). Interestingly, words which are based upon the root “hrm” do exist in Ethiopic, though they are not used in these passages. They are found, however, in many other places where חרם is used in the Hebrew; cf. *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, s.v. “hrm.” One final witness that is cited in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus as a text from Enoch attests to the use of ἀναθεματίζω as a type of self-imprecation with others as witnesses: δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν ᾧ ὤμοσαν καὶ ἀνεθεματίσαν πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτῶν, ὅτι . . . ; see text in Black (1970), p. 37. For this translation with the preposition πρὸς, see *BAGD*, s.v. “ὀμνύω.”

³⁴ For a convenient text of the Greek, see A.-M. Denis, *Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca* (Leiden, 1970), pp. 113–14.

³⁵ The phrase is ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φιμωτικοῦ καταθέματος (upon this silencing curse), i.e., it refers to the tablet itself. For the texts, see Mitford (1971), nos. 127.22; 129.11; 131.15; 133.16; 134.13; 135.17; 136.14; 137.13 (restored); 138.16; 139.16; 140.13; 142.14. These tablets were found together and were likely drafted by one person who, again according to Mitford, was a Jewish sorcerer (p. 134). He dates the tablets to the third century C.E. The number of lead curse tablets, all from the same scribe, has recently been tabulated at over two hundred by Jordan and Aupert (1981), p. 184.

sense. And never is a negative meaning for the noun ἀνάθεμα, nor is the verb ἀναθεματίζω itself, found earlier than the occurrences in the Septuagint. Thus the occurrence of the term ἀνάθεμα in a negative sense outside of Judeo-Christian literature is rare and late (Megara, first-second centuries C.E.; Amathous, third century C.E.), while the negative meaning for the verb ἀνατίθημι in both literatures is peculiar to a single site.³⁶ It appears that hellenistic Judaism was unwilling or unable to extend the sense of ἀνατίθημι as it had in the case of ἀνάθεμα and, instead, formed the denominative verb ἀναθεματίζω to translate the verb חרם upon those occasions when the term had a negative meaning. The extension of the noun, however, may have been possible because of the connection that ἀναθέματα often had with pagan religion—considered idolatrous by the Jews, such things were therefore always imbued with a negative connotation for them. Indeed, support for this idea is found in Deuteronomy where the form ἀνάθημα (with the letter η) occurs with a negative sense—in 7:26 it is used twice to refer explicitly to idols.³⁷ The use of the term חרם/ἀνάθεμα in Ezra 10:8 also presupposes a problem with paganism, and attests to a socio-political development of these terms:

וכל אשר לא יבוא לשלשת הימים כעצת השרים וחוקים
יחרם כל-דכושו והוא יבדל מקהל הנזלה

καὶ πᾶς, ὃς ἂν μὴ ἔλθῃ εἰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὥς ἡ Βουλὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἀναθεματισθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ ὑπαρξίς αὐτοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸς διασταλήσεται ἀπὸ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀποικίας.

Consequently, it seems that the meaning of the term ἀνάθεμα expanded to include the ideas that were held by the Jews about חרם. The word חרם could be a sacred offering, or something that was condemned (“banned”) because of its relation to paganism, or the pronouncement of this condemnation and/or its consequent destruction, though, again, this last meaning for ἀνάθεμα was rare.³⁸ It is easy to see how the term חרם is akin to “curse” in the latter

³⁶ The phrase *ανθεμ . . . ν. γῆς ἱερᾶς* occurs at the end of a curse tablet from the fifth-fourth centuries B.C.E., though Jordan cannot explain the phrase, and *ανθεμ . . . ν.* is in any case not necessarily related to ἀνατίθημι; see Jordan (1985), p. 155 (no. 3).

³⁷ See n. 9 above. The form ἀνάθεμα (with ε) also occurs in Dt 13:15(16) and 20:17 in the phrase ἀναθεματίζω ἀναθέματι, literally, “to anathematize with an anathema.” In the first passage the meaning seems to be to “pronounce the ban,” while in the latter the reference certainly is to destruction. Dt 13:17(18) classifies all of the “anathematized” property of the city as ἀνάθεμα.

³⁸ See n. 21 above.

instances, but the first may have contributed to that development as well. Lev 27:29 includes the dedication of a human being alongside that of property. The passages from the *Damascus Document* and Philo seem to show how the devoting of כֶּהֱנִי could be misused against an enemy, which again is a type of curse. And 1 Enoch 6 may be an example of the use of such a vow by individuals against themselves, that is, as a self-imprecation in the apodosis of an oath.³⁹

Thus, just prior to the beginning of the Christian era, the *negative* range of ἀνάθεμα seems to have included both a more technical Jewish usage, the proclamation/possession of a cultic status which is dependent ultimately upon the biblical כֶּהֱנִי (cf. Ezra 10:8; CD 6.15; 9.1; 16.14–15), and also a significance for the private vows and oaths of the individual (cf. 1 Enoch 6.4–5). Interestingly, the term κατάθεμα appears, if at all, only once and in this latter sense. In fact, κατάθεμα and its corresponding verb καταθεματίζω are found *only* with a negative meaning. This must mean that they came into being after the noun ἀνάθεμα had assumed its negative significance. In addition, it is likely that these forms with κατά came into being as a way to make explicit the negative meanings of ἀνάθεμα.⁴⁰

These two aspects of the negative usage may explain the semantics of the terms as they appear in the NT. The word κατάθεμα occurs only twice in the NT: the substantive form in Rev 22:3 (a

³⁹ Note also the limited use of the Aramaic כֶּהֱנִי in the Targums. It occurs basically when the sense is to pronounce something as כֶּהֱנִי (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s.v. “כֶּהֱנִי”).

⁴⁰ The formation of nouns from other prefixal forms of τίθημι is widespread, e.g.: ἐπιθήμα, ἐπιθέμα from ἐπιτίθημι; προσθήμα, προσθέμα from προστίθημι; συνθήμα, συνθέμα from συντίθημι; and ὑποθήμα, ὑποθέμα from ὑποτίθημι. The form κατάθεμα, however, does not seem to derive from κατατίθημι but, rather, directly from ἀνάθεμα. Proof for this is the late use of κατάθεμα with respect to ἀνάθεμα and the later interchangeability of the two terms as they are found in the NT occurrences—Rev 22:3 (cf. Zech 14:11) and Mt 26:74 (cf. Mk 14:71). One instance of κατατίθημι (in the late form κατατίθω) with the meaning of “consign” is given in *LSJ*, but this tablet is dated to the second century C.E. and κατατίθω is in parallel construction with the verb καταγράφω; see Audolent (1904), no. 75.1 (also 74.1). Also, the verb παρακατατίθημι is found in two curse tablets. One of these is dated to the fourth century B.C.E., but here παρακατατίθημι is syntactically connected to the infinitive τηρεῖν (keep, guard); see Wuensch (1897), no. 100.7. Another is dated by Jordan (1985), uncertainly, to the first-second centuries C.E. (p. 178 [no. 112]). Indeed, the emphasis may be upon the κατά forms because the appeal is made to the gods of the underworld, κατά being the opposite of ἀνά. Note, e.g., the numerous κατά verbs which are used as *formulae devotoriae* as listed in Audolent (1904), p. 474—meaning “against” or “down” or a combination of both nuances? Curse tablets were often buried, and this was in fact the case with a group of lead tablets which are called καταθέματα in the texts themselves (cf. n. 34 above). An alternate derivation would add κατά to ἀνάθεμα (*ThW* 1.357/*TDNT* 1.355) since double compounds became popular in the hellenistic period, an era which had a

text which is dependent upon Zech 14:11 LXX, ἀνάθεμα)—

καὶ πᾶν κατάθεμα οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι

and the verbal form καταθεματίζειν in Mt 26:74 (par. ἀναθεματίζειν in Mk 14:71)—

τότε ἤρξατο καταθεματίζειν καὶ ὁμνύειν ὅτι οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον

The use of the word κατάθεμα instead of ἀνάθεμα in these texts indicates a high degree of interchangeability between the words, but suggests a preference for the former in some Jewish-Christian circles.

Of the two occurrences of κατάθεμα, Rev 22:3 seems to understand the cultic, biblical meaning for the כּרֵךְ of Zech 14:11 (in context more likely “accursed thing,” rather than “ban” as in Zechariah). Indeed, it is associated with the “healing of the gentiles” and is very likely a reference to their idolatry. On the other hand, the verbal form of Mt 26:74//Mk 14:71 reflects the meaning for oaths or vows. The same phenomenon appears with the word ἀνάθεμα. In agreement with the use that is found in Mark are Acts 23:12, 13 (v.l.), 14 (with cognate dative), and 21, and perhaps Rom 9:3 where Paul says that he has prayed to be an ἀνάθεμα from Christ, which means, it seems, that he was willing to be condemned and thus separated from Christ on behalf of his fellow Jews. But alongside this the Pauline corpus also testifies to a development in the technical, cultic use. In 1 Cor 16:22 and Gal 1:8–9 Paul clearly uses the word to condemn, to damn individuals:

εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα (1 Cor 16:22)

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς ἡ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ [ὑμῖν] εὐαγγελίζεται παρ’ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (Gal 1:8–9)

In 1 Cor 12:3 Paul also states that anyone who pronounces this against Jesus cannot be a true Christian. It is even possible that such a curse/condemnation is related to the phenomenon of the synagogue ban, a disciplinary exclusion from the community which is mentioned elsewhere in the NT,⁴¹ as well as in Tannaitic and rabbinic texts.

penchant for prepositions and more descriptive language in general; see A.T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (New York, 1915), p. 163. Here κατὰ could be classified with other occurrences of the preposition that perform a perfective/intensifying task, e.g., κρίνω (judge), κατακρίνω (condemn); see Robertson (1915), pp. 563–64 (with examples from p. 828). Thus κατάθεμα would perhaps have the meaning of “cursed to destruction.”

⁴¹ See, e.g., Jn 9:22; 12:42; 16:2. Cf. Justin *Dial* 47.4.11. The passage in Ezra

The Babylonian Talmud discusses a highly developed form of the ban which is much later, but it is likely that the terminology existed in an earlier period. For example, the Mishnaic tractate *Nedarim* understands חרם to be a type of vow (1.1), as well as a person or thing that is devoted (2.4; 5.4) or an oppressive person (3.4). And in the Palestinian Talmud, the tractate *Mo'ed Qatan* has instances where the phrase ידוי מחרם (be accursed) is used to pronounce what is termed a נידוי (ban),⁴² which may perhaps have some relationship to the Pauline command ἵτω ἀνάθεμα (let him be accursed, 1 Cor 16:22; ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, Gal 1:9). Furthermore, another nuance is attested in *t.ʿArak* 4.34, where the חרם of Lev 27:29 is explained as a reference to persons upon whom a court has pronounced the death sentence.⁴³ The data are insufficient to provide certainty as to how these examples are related to Paul's use of the word ἀνάθεμα. It is not implausible, however, that some historical connection exists.

Finally, one last source which may shed light upon the meaning of *Did* 16.5 is the use of the terms ἀνάθεμα and κατάθεμα in the early patristic literature. Many attestations occur in texts of the fourth century and later, both within works which comment upon the biblical passages where these terms are found and in other texts where they represent official condemnation and/or excommunication from the church. In these texts, the word ἀνάθεμα is by far the more common of the two, perhaps due to the influence of the Pauline material. Yet the earliest occurrences are of the verb καταθεματίζω, which is found in Justin, Irenaeus, and Origen.⁴⁴ The text from Justin, for example, which dates from the mid-second century C.E., speaks of Jews "katathematizing" either Christ or Christians in the sense of religious/cultic condemnation:

καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ζῶντας κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ πιστεύοντας πρὶν τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου οὐ

10:8 may be an early form of this exclusion from the community. Justin's report that Christ or Christians were declared to be ἀνάθεμα by Jews, presumably because they were considered to be heretical, fits well with the earlier connection of חרם and the threat of paganism.

⁴² See *y.Mo'edQat* 3.81d for examples of מחרם. Compare the variation in practice and terminology with the Babylonian tradition in *b.Mo'edQat* 15a–17a.

⁴³ Cf. CD 9.1.

⁴⁴ Justin *Dial* 47.4.11 (Jews cursing Christ or Christians); see E.J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 145–46; Irenaeus *ConHaer* 1.13.4 (Christians cursing heretics; PG 7.585A) and 1.16.3 (PG 7.636A); Origen *Hom10.8inJer* (non-Christians cursing Christ; GCS 3.78.1; PG 13.365D); Origen *Dial* 6 (Christian avowing orthodoxy).

σωθήσεσθαι ὁμοίως ἀποφαίνομαι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καταθεματίσαντας καὶ καταθεματίζοντας τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ πᾶν (πιστεύοντας ed.) ὅπως τύχῃσι τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τῆς ἐν τῷ πυρὶ ἀπαλλαγῶσιν.

And in the same way I declare that they of the seed of Abraham who live after the Law, and believe not on this our Christ before the end of their life, will not be saved, and especially they who in the synagogues have anathematised, and still anathematise, those who believe on that very Christ, in order that they may obtain salvation and be freed from the punishment of the fire. (*Dial* 47.4.7–13)⁴⁵

And Irenaeus in *ConHaer* 1.13.4 tells of Christian women “katathe-matizing,” that is, pronouncing accursed, the heretical Marcus (καταθεματίσασαι αὐτόν). But aside from the *Didache* (and the uncertain *Legend about Isaiah*,⁴⁶ the noun κατάθεμα is only attested as early as the third/fourth-century, Ps-Clementine *Contestatio pro iis qui librum accipiunt* (*Testimony Regarding the Recipients of the Epistles*). Here it occurs within an oath:

Πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἅπασιν εἰ ψεύσομαι, κατάθεμα ἔσομαι ζῶν καὶ θανὼν, καὶ αἰωνίῳ κολασθῆσομαι κολάσει.

And in addition to all these things, if I shall lie, I shall be accursed living and dying and shall be punished with everlasting punishment. (*Contest* 4.4)⁴⁷

Next it comes in the fourth/fifth-century *Acts of Philip*, and seems to denote a pronouncement of condemnation upon a person:

Ὅργισθεις δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος εἶπεν Κατάθεμα· ἀπελθε λοιπὸν κάτω ὅλος εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον ἐνώπιον τούτων ἀπάντων.

Philip, angered, said, “You are accursed! Now depart all the way down to the abyss in the presence of all these people.” (*ActsPhil* 28)⁴⁸

The term ἀνάθεμα is used with these same meanings, though on occasion it is also found with the positive sense of “something that is dedicated to God.”

Given this background and the context of *Did* 16.5, we can now

⁴⁵ Translation by A.L. Williams, *Justin Martyr: The Dialogue with Trypho* (London, 1930), p. 94.

⁴⁶ See p. 167 above.

⁴⁷ *PG* 2.32B. Translation by A.C. Coxe, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8 (Grand Rapids, 1989), p. 216.

⁴⁸ Or κατάθεμα σοί. See *AcApos* 2.15.12B. This form would match that which is found in the Greek *Legend about Isaiah* = *MartIsa* 5.9.

look at the possible interpretations of κατάθεμα. Several attempts have been made to translate the term κατάθεμα as “curse,” sometimes as a reference to the κοσμοπλανής (world-deceiver), to death (i.e., the grave), or to even more remote possibilities, all of which involve some distortion of the text.⁴⁹ More recently, however, it has been well argued that κατάθεμα is a reference to the fiery testing.⁵⁰ Jonathan Draper argues for such an interpretation:

In 16:5 . . . the difficult phrase ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταθέματος seems to be faithful to the tradition in which the faithful remnant is purged by suffering like a refiner’s fire (Mal 3:2–4). The ‘curse’ which saves is the πύρωσις τῆς δοκιμασίας . . . as is seen in the closely parallel texts of *Hermas*, *Vls.* IV.3,4 and I Peter 4:12.⁵¹

To facilitate the discussion, these two passages need to be cited as well. 1 Pet 4:12, as well as 1:6–7, uses the image of metals which are being refined by fire:

Ἀγαπητοί, μὴ ξενίζεσθε τῇ ἐν ὑμῖν πυρώσει πρὸς πειρασμὸν ὑμῖν γινομένη ὥς ξένου ὑμῖν συμβαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ καθὼ κοινωνεῖτε τοῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθήμασιν χαίρετε, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ χαρήτε ἀγαλλιώμενοι.

As in *Did* 16.5, the motifs of fire and testing are present and the word for fire, πύρωσις, is common to both. The passage in the *Shepherd of Hermas* is even more compelling. As she interprets the vision of Hermas to him, the “Church” says,

τὸ δὲ πυροειδὲς καὶ αἱματῶδες, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δι’ αἵματος καὶ πυρὸς ἀπολλύσθαι. τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦν μέρος ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ ἐκφυγόντες τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον δοκιμάζεται διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ εὐχρηστον γίνεται, οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς δοκιμάζεσθε οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν μέιναντες καὶ πυρωθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καθαρισθήσεσθε.

The color of fire and blood means that this world must be destroyed by blood and fire. The golden part is you, who have fled from this world, for even as gold is ‘tried in the fire’ and becomes valuable, so also you

⁴⁹ In order for κατάθεμα to refer to κοσμοπλανής a local use of ὑπό + genitive is required, a syntax which no longer is attested in hellenistic Greek; see *BAGD*, s.v. “ὑπό.” Other translations arbitrarily emend the text to read ἀπό (saved *from* the curse itself); see Schaff (1886), pp. 215–16 (and n. 2 above). J.R. Harris thought that the phrase was a broader reference to a belief in “salvation by similars,” “that which damns turns into that which saves”; see Harris, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (London, 1887), pp. 62–69.

⁵⁰ Such a suggestion was also listed as a possibility by Kraft (1965), p. 176.

⁵¹ Draper (1984), p. 282.

who live among them, are being tried. Those then who remain and pass through the flames shall be purified by them. (*HermVis* 4.3.3–4)⁵²

This seems to be a better parallel than does 1 Pet 4:12, since here the image of fire is used simultaneously for the destruction of the world and for the purification of Christians. Though rare, the occurrence of the term ἀνάθεμα in the Septuagint as a gloss for חרם with the meaning of “ban/destruction,” as was mentioned above, may lend some support to this translation, as does also the fact that such destruction is frequently effected by means of fire.⁵³ Thus, instead of being destroyed by the fiery testing, the faithful will be purified and subsequently will attain salvation.

Yet the overall context of *Did* 16.5, specifically the use of σωθήσονται followed by the preposition ὑπό, speaks against this theory, since elsewhere σώζω and ὑπό together indicate a personal, most likely divine, agent.⁵⁴ Nor does the notion of “testing” as a *curse* occur in either of the parallels which are cited by Draper—חרם, and only rarely ἀνάθεμα, can denote punishment through eradication, but not testing. And again, when ἀνάθεμα can be translated as “curse” it is virtually always in the sense of a pronouncement and not of its ramifications.⁵⁵ Moreover, there is another motif of fire which is used in the eschatological testing of human beings that appears in texts which are contemporary with the *Didache*. In this image the fire tests individuals or their “works” to discern their true character: if the works are unaffected by the fire, the person is judged to be righteous and attains salvation; if the works are consumed by the fire, the individual is unrighteous and subsequently condemned. The concept seems to be originally Iranian.⁵⁶ It may be the underlying image of Is 66:15–16, a passage which refers to the establishment of the new Jerusalem and the universal testing by fire which is to occur at that time. It is

⁵² Text and translation by K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 66–67.

⁵³ See *TDOT* 5.183. One could also cite the fact that another term for “curse” (κατάρα) was used to express the consequences of disregard for the covenant (cf., e.g., Dt 30:1 and Gal 3:10, 13).

⁵⁴ In all of the examples which I have checked, σώζω + ὑπό is only found with animate agents, i.e., persons or personified entities; see also P. Drews, “Apostellehre (*Didache*),” in E. Hennecke (ed.), *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1904), p. 283.

⁵⁵ See n. 21 above.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of this, see R. Mayer, *Die biblische Vorstellung vom Weltenbrand* (Bonn, 1956).

found as well in the NT at 1 Cor 3:13–15, though Paul speaks here explicitly about the works of Christians. The best examples of the motif, however, are seen in *SibOr* 2.252–338 (cf. 8.411), *TestAbr* 13.11–14 (Recension A), *TestIsaac* 5.21–32—all of which probably contain a Jewish *Vorlage*—and *ApocPet* 6 (Eth.), which, if original to the text, dates to the first half of the second century C.E. According to these texts, at the end of time all individuals and/or their “works,” will be obliged to pass through a fire which only the righteous can endure. While in the *Testament of Abraham* and the *Testament of Isaac* the works or the righteous individuals themselves survive unharmed, in the *Sibylline Oracles* the righteous are saved by angels, and in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (Eth.) Christ is present to receive them. Those who are judged to be unrighteous, however, suffer punishment in the fire according to *SibOr* 2.295, *TestIsaac* 5.21–32, and *ApocPet* 6 (Eth.).

Now since the context of *Did* 16.5 is the salvation of the faithful, many commentators have believed that the word *κατάθεμα* is an allusion to Christ, and this translation is complemented by the contemporaneous images of the salvation of the righteous from a fiery testing.⁵⁷ The allusion can be understood in two different ways. On the one hand, the text may point to an image of Jesus as a “curse” along the same lines as the thought that is expressed in Gal 3:10–14, where Paul says that Christ became a *κατάρα* (curse)⁵⁸ to save us from the *κατάρα* of the Law. Such an interpretation is hindered, however, by the fact that two different terms for “curse” are used and by the special nuances of “curse” as a translation value for *ἀνάθεμα/κατάθεμα*. It is more likely that the reference is to Jesus as an “accursed person,” equivalent to the Pauline use of *ἀνάθεμα*.⁵⁹ But if this is the case, who has pronounced Christ to be accursed? It may be that the statement refers to the condemnation of Jesus by Jews,⁶⁰ either in the sense of the synagogue ban or perhaps in

⁵⁷ See also Justin *Dial* 111.2.8–10, where Christ οὐ κατηράθη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀλλὰ μόνος σώσειν τοὺς μὴ ἀφισταμένους τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ ἐδήλου. The idea of Christ as κατηράθη (accursed), though a different verb, and as the one who will save τοὺς μὴ ἀφισταμένους τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ (the faithful), supports this interpretation of *Did* 16.5 as well. I extend my appreciation to Aaron Milavec for this important parallel.

⁵⁸ In citation of Dt 21:23.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Bam* 7.6–12, which compares Christ to the ritual scapegoat of the Day of Atonement, the goat which is pronounced ἐπικατάρατος (accursed).

⁶⁰ Justin *Dial* 47.4.11 was explicitly mentioned above because it attests καταθεματίζω, but see also *Dial* 16.4.4; 93.4.6; 108.3.2.

reference to the death sentence which was passed against him.⁶¹ Or it may refer to the judgment of God upon Christ in a sense that is parallel to that of ἀνάθεμα in Rom 9:3. It may even be that the reference here is to lapsing Christians who curse Christ. The order to curse Christ, of course, was one way by which Roman officials tested people who were accused of being Christians.⁶² True believers, it was thought, could not bring themselves to do this. The mention of the many who will σκανδαλισθήσονται . . . ἀπολούνται (stumble [and] perish) in 16.5 certainly makes this interpretation possible as well.

Thus, it is within these parameters that the proper understanding of the term κατάθεμα in 16.5 seems to lie. While the idea that its reference is to the fiery testing is supported especially by similar imagery in *Hermas*, the semantic range of κατάθεμα seems to favor the interpretation that the faithful will be saved by Christ himself. Amid all of the upheavals of the end-time as it is portrayed in *Didache* 16, amid all of the transformations of “sheep into wolves” and “love into hate,” it is the one who is utterly condemned, either by the Jews, by God, or perhaps even by apostate Christians, who will rescue his own.

⁶¹ As in *t.ʿArak.* 4.34 (see p. 171 above).

⁶² Cf. Pliny *EpTrajan* 10.96.5–6; *MariPol* 9.3. This suggestion was first made by von Harnack (1893), pp. 62–63. Also note that the heretical sect of the Ophites, as they are described by Origen, actually required members to curse Christ (Origen *ConCels* 6.28). I extend my appreciation to Robert M. Grant for this reference.

STYLE-SWITCHING IN THE *DIDACHE*: FINGERPRINT OR ARGUMENT?

IAN H. HENDERSON

McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada

I

I have elsewhere argued that the *Didache* is a uniquely appropriate test case by which to temper methods of NT study.¹ The *Didache* distinctively combines qualities, motifs, and topics which separately seem to be typical of quite diverse facets of NT literature. Less positively, the *Didache* seems basically to have defeated those methods which have proven to be relatively productive within NT study. Basic introductory questions remain open with regard to the *Didache* despite the intensive application of methods from NT studies which are designed precisely to answer such questions. The *Didache* seems to test the methods better than the methods test the *Didache*.

The most obvious cases in point are the tortured questions of the relationship between the *Didache* and the synoptic gospels, as well as the related question of the (dis)unity of the *Didache*. In my earlier essay I argued that the symbolic, formulaic, and argumentative unity of the *Didache* can fruitfully be reconciled with its evident episodic and stylistic disunity if we recognize and understand the deliberate, oral quality of the text. Since the oral quality which I detect in the *Didache* is defined over against the literacy of the book itself and over against the literacy of at least some of its sources (e.g., the Two Ways), the programmatic orality of the *Didache* becomes all the more striking if the text was in fact conceived as an oral, though now written, response to a written gospel (or two).

My previous interpretation therefore leaves me open in principle to the possibility of the direct, literary influence of Matthew and/or Luke upon the composition of the *Didache*. Still, if "the gospel" was a book or books which the author had actually read, it is difficult for

¹ I.H. Henderson, "Didache and Orality in Synoptic Comparison," *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 283–306.

me to interrelate the literary influence of the Two Ways, the use of "sayings-type" materials, and occasional references to "the gospel."

Moreover, I doubt that it is possible to frame a convincing argument for literary dependency or for oral-traditional independence without systematically ignoring what the *Didache* itself is about.² In the *Didache*, as I understand it, the rhetoric is centrally about the effacement of boundaries between different sources of personal, social, and textual authority. If this is right, the prospects for a resolution of questions about oral-traditional influence versus literary influence will be dim, except in the case of some massive, literary dependence for which an independent parallel may be detected, as with the Two Ways material. NT critics customarily ask questions of texts which those texts were not meant to answer. If I am generally right about the *Didache*, however, it was designed (more than most ancient texts) to frustrate any interrogation about its specific tradition-historical loyalties and connections.

Given such predispositions, the present essay will explore the inconsistency of style within the *Didache* as a criterion of interpretation. One of my goals is to understand the *Didache* better as a historical text among related texts. A more distinctive goal is to articulate an operant definition of "style," which might prove itself in the future study of early Christian literature generally.

I will approach this through my review of a recent, outstanding example of the approach to style in the *Didache* as part of the problem of the oral versus literary relation of the *Didache* to the synoptics.³ Christopher Tuckett's essay on the relationship between the *Didache* and the synoptic gospels has the merits of unusual clarity and evenhandedness both in its own method and in its critique of other contributions. A critical review of Tuckett's work will provide the basis upon which to compare and contrast the use of style as a criterion within source- and tradition-critical practice with the interpretation of "style-switching" (i.e., the transition from one style to another) in

² See A. Milavec, "The Pastoral Genius of the *Didache*: An Analytical Translation and Commentary," in J. Neusner et al. (eds.), *Religious Writings and Religious Systems*, vol. 2 (Atlanta, 1989), pp. 89–125 (esp. p. 90).

³ C.M. Tuckett, "Synoptic Tradition in the *Didache*," in J.-M. Sevrin (ed.), *The New Testament in Early Christianity* (Louvain, 1989), pp. 197–230. See also the response of W. Rordorf, "Does the *Didache* Contain Jesus Tradition Independently of the Synoptic Gospels?," in H. Wansbrough (ed.), *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition* (Sheffield, 1991), pp. 394–423.

rhetorical and sociolinguistic theories. Tuckett's work, together with these latter theoretical standpoints, will also suggest some categories through which we may explore an interpretation of style and "style-switching" within the *Didache*.

II

It can hardly be said strongly enough that Tuckett here is no straw man. I concur with Willy Rordorf that "Tuckett's work is—after that of H. Köster—incomparably the most careful and comprehensive study of the problem."⁴ Tuckett has made the best possible case for the literary dependence of the *Didache* upon the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke. Moreover, Tuckett has usefully applied a similar logic in at least two other instances: 1) where he has convincingly argued that 1 Corinthians does not presuppose the direct influence of the Sayings Gospel Q; and 2) that "insofar as they reflect synoptic tradition at all," the Nag Hammadi texts other than the *Gospel of Thomas* "seem to presuppose one or more of the finished gospels of Matthew, Mark or Luke."⁵

The Criterion of Micro-Stylistic Redactional Distinctiveness

The central contribution of Tuckett's article on the *Didache* appears in its isolation and exemplary application of Köster's single, persuasive criterion for the literary dependence of any particular text upon a synoptic gospel:

if material which owes its origin to the redactional activity of a synoptic evangelist reappears in another work, then the latter presupposes the finished work of that evangelist.⁶

Tuckett is aware of the occasional vagaries (notably in the Sayings Gospel Q and special materials) of the precise isolation of "material which owes its origin to the redactional activity of a synoptic evangelist." Judgments about redactional issues which are based upon the Two-Source hypothesis are at best probable, frequently disputable,

⁴ Rordorf (1991), p. 400. See H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957).

⁵ C.M. Tuckett, "1 Corinthians and Q," *JBL* 102 (1983), pp. 607–19; *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 149.

⁶ Tuckett (1989), p. 199. See also C. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis* (Cambridge, 1983).

and occasionally impossible. They may claim, however, to be relatively detached from, for example, general models of oral tradition or the production of texts in early Christianity. The echo of a “redactional micro-style” is therefore the single, practically convincing criterion for the detection of a specifically literary influence from the synoptics. The restrictions of the redaction-critical method limit the applicability of Tuckett’s criterion, but not in principle its validity. Tuckett in particular wisely refrains from basing his argument upon those parallels between the *Didache* and the synoptics which are indeterminate in relation to his chosen criterion (e.g., *Did* 1.4a//Mt 5:48).⁷

Tuckett’s emphasis upon the transfer of redactional features as the sole persuasive criterion of synoptic literary influence on the *Didache* forces the issue of stylistic analysis upon us. Gospel redaction-criticism is built on item-by-item synoptic comparisons among peculiarly related gospels. The items that are compared are typically (and romantically) imagined either as theological/ideological motifs or as micro-stylistic adjustments. Despite many micro-stylistic parallels between the *Didache* and the synoptics, their arguments seem studiously unrelated—the *Didache* often recalls synoptic language, though seldom synoptic thought.

Tuckett is left with an implied definition of style as a composite of micro-stylistic features of diction and short syntax which are cumulatively distinctive, potentially transferrable fingerprints of individual authors/redactors. This redaction-critical definition of style does not simply make the best of the synoptic situation, but also reflects the desire to distinguish the merely stylistic preferences and habits of the evangelists from their theologically or, more recently, ideologically significant innovations. This distinction may be at work in the uncharacteristic, special pleading that appears with Tuckett’s comparison of *Did* 1.3b and Lk 6:32. There, the similarity of diction (χάρις) and short syntax (rhetorical question), but also the clear difference in argument between the two passages, allegedly attest a dependence upon the redactor of Luke. The author of *Did* 1.3b “takes over the Lukan rhetorical question, but fails to see its significance and hence betrays the secondary nature of his own text.”⁸

At any rate, the definition of style with which Tuckett works is not the only possible definition, but is the only one that promises to

⁷ Tuckett (1989), p. 226. See also Tuckett (1983), pp. 13–15.

⁸ Tuckett (1989), pp. 223–24.

distinguish pre- or non-synoptic from post-synoptic influences in the *Didache*. Thus, despite his insistence that the *Didache* can impose its own style upon its received tradition (see below), Tuckett seems to imply that the “criterion of micro-stylistic redactional distinctiveness” could in principle determine the absence of literary influence:

[T]his criterion is really the only one which ultimately can determine whether a text like the *Didache* presupposes the finished gospels or whether it uses traditions which lie behind our gospels.⁹

This candid reliance upon the single “criterion of micro-stylistic redactional distinctiveness” should not obscure two other problematic maxims of Tuckett’s argument, without which the redaction-critical criterion could not perform in this context of redaction-critical extrapolation beyond the synoptics.

The Maxim of Deliberate Non-Quotation

The first of these controlling maxims reflects an oddity in the composition of the *Didache* itself, ironically, one of the principles of its unity that is often denied: regardless of the medium through which the *Didache* received its synoptic-sounding influences, it selects and absorbs them with great freedom. To be fair to Tuckett, he recognizes the central importance of the fact that the *Didache* is not a passive recipient of redactional or traditional influences, a polished surface upon which fingerprints leave their mark. On the contrary, the *Didache* has its own stylistic character and leaves its fingerprints everywhere.

Thus, the more confidently we conclude with Tuckett that the *Didache* in all of its parts reflects the finished text of canonical Matthew, and perhaps Luke, the more strikingly limited and erratic the influence of these books appears to be. The individual verses and contexts of Matthew and Luke that are most likely to have influenced the language of the *Didache* seem *ex hypothesi* to have left no mark beyond the particular phrase in question. The relationships of *Did* 1.3–2.1 to Mt 5:39–48//Lk 6:27–36 and of *Didache* 16 to Mark 13 and Matthew 24 are, again, of sufficient verbal similarity to make the argumentative (and stylistic) differences apparent. Even the association of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting (all against the “hypocrites”) in Matthew (6:1–18) and of (almsgiving), fasting, and prayer (both

⁹ Tuckett (1989), p. 200 (my italics).

against the “hypocrites”) in the *Didache* (1.5b–6; 8.1–2) may be a topical and liturgical tradition rather than a literary dependency. Prayer, fasting, and opponents *are* related topics in early Christian and Jewish discourse.¹⁰

That individuality which asserts itself wherever the *Didache* resembles the synoptics is so pronounced that Tuckett must remind the reader at least eight times about the freedom with which the *Didache* appropriates material which is in synoptic styles:

One must . . . allow for a greater element of freedom on the part of the Didachist in using his sources than in the case of a scribe seeking to copy a manuscript.

It is thus inappropriate to judge the *Didache*’s use of synoptic tradition as if it were a case of explicit quotation and to expect exact agreement between the quoted version and the source used. The *Didache*’s use of synoptic tradition is more one of free allusion. Hence disagreements between the *Didache* and the gospels in, for example, the context and application of synoptic tradition need not imply that the *Didache* cannot have known our gospels.¹¹

This “maxim of deliberate non-quotation” is a fair, though only partially convincing, response to the difficulty of belief that many of the individual “synopticisms” in the *Didache* reflect a competent reading of parts of the alleged synoptic gospel sources, let alone of whole gospels.¹²

Tuckett is broadly right to insist that the literary influence need not be direct in order to be significant. It is attractive to imagine, for example, that the writer(s) of the *Didache* had heard readings or accounts of readings (of portions) of our Matthew or Luke. The “maxim of deliberate non-quotation” as Tuckett applies it, however, must hinge upon a conscious decision by the Didachist neither to quote from the gospels nor to mark borrowed words in any special way, and not merely upon the Didachist’s limited knowledge or aural reception of these sources. The writer of the *Didache* read books and could incorporate them textually into the text (e.g., the Two Ways material).

¹⁰ Tuckett (1989), p. 219 and n. 98.

¹¹ Tuckett (1989), p. 226; see also pp. 198–99 and n. 11, 201 n. 19, 207–208, 211 n. 68, 212 and n. 71, 222 n. 108.

¹² As instances of such incredulity, Tuckett (1989) cites the following examples (pp. 211–12): R. Glover, “The *Didache*’s Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels,” *NTS* 5 (1958), p. 13; R.J. Bauckham, “Synoptic Parousia Parables and the Apocalypse,” *NTS* 23 (1977), p. 169.

Moreover, the *Didache* can quote (1.6; 9.5; 14.2; 16.7) and can explicitly recognize an external authority (so "the gospel," 8.2; 11.3; 15.3–4).¹³ To explain, then, "what might appear at first sight to be a rather random set of parallels," Tuckett must hypothesize that the author of *Did* 16.3–5 systematically culled "from Matthew all available material about false prophets" and then characteristically "non-quoted" it.¹⁴ In a slightly different way, the "non-quotation" and critical gloss of Lk 6:30 in *Did* 1.4d–5a is alleged to indicate some knowledgeable, respectful, and critically allusive reception of the gospel text.¹⁵

The question thus remains important, notwithstanding Tuckett's nuanced position: is it credible that someone who through direct access to Matthew and/or Luke was able to retain distinct impressions of Matthean or Lukan redactional choices would sometimes reproduce those impressions stylistically, but almost never reflect an understanding of the Matthean or Lukan argument? The answer, of course, depends upon the rhetorical purposes of "non-quotation" and quotation in the *Didache* and upon the rhetorical effects which a writer of the *Didache* might have perceived in Matthew and/or Luke and/or the oral rhetorical tradition. Still, if the freedom of the *Didache* explains its non-synoptic styles, can a literary dependence at the same time explain its occasional, apparently synoptic styles? Literary influence is a factor in the composition of the *Didache*—so too is the Didachist's arbitrary linguistic freedom. These influences, however, are not sufficient to explain either the stylistic variation within the *Didache* or the relationship of the *Didache* to other early Christian literature and traditions.

The "maxim of deliberate non-quotation" is the nearest that Tuckett's method can come to such interpretive questions, since its persuasiveness depends upon some relative independence from them. According to Tuckett, the *Didache* in all of its main parts reflects, indeed topically culls, the finished text of Matthew and/or Luke, but never quotes either writing, unless a quotation can be admitted in *Did* 9.5 (par. Mt 7:6a), which is probably a proverbial saying.¹⁶ If this is accepted, the rhetorical relationship between the *Didache* and

¹³ Tuckett (1989), pp. 198–99 and n. 10; Milavec (1989), p. 91; Rordorf (1991), p. 420.

¹⁴ Tuckett (1989), p. 206.

¹⁵ Tuckett (1989), pp. 229–30.

¹⁶ Tuckett (1989), p. 202. See I.H. Henderson, "Gnomic Quatrains in the Synoptics: An Experiment in Genre Definition," *NTS* 37 (1991), pp. 481–98 (esp. p. 486).

its synoptic sources must be one of a strangely studied selectivity, in dramatic contrast to the wholesale use of the Two Ways by the *Didache*. However rigorous and balanced Tuckett's method may be, it is impossible (not difficult) for it to determine the relationship between the *Didache* and the synoptics without some *a priori* decision with respect to what the *Didache* is about.¹⁷ Beyond some indication that the *Didache* very seldom *quotes* (though it often *borrow*s) from somewhere, it is therefore crucial to embrace the question of quotation and "non-quotation" in the *Didache* as a pattern of purposeful "style-switching."

The Maxim of Parsimony

Beyond the "criterion of micro-stylistic redactional distinctiveness" and its qualification by the "maxim of deliberate non-quotation," Tuckett's argument makes frequent appeal to another basic maxim, the "maxim of parsimony." In individual cases of verbal parallel between the *Didache* and the synoptics, he frequently describes literary dependence as the "easiest" or "simplest" explanation or rejects alternative explanations which demand "unnecessary complication."¹⁸ Tuckett confines such claims to individual cases of comparison. Moreover, he expresses reservations toward a similar appeal by Bentley Layton with the note that "[o]ne cannot assume that the least complex and most elegant hypotheses always correspond to historical reality."¹⁹

Even relative simplicity is compromised in a literary, source-critical account of the synoptic "non-quotations" which appear in the *Didache* when competing explanations are tested against the *Didache* as a whole and not only with respect to its synoptic influences. The "maxim of deliberate non-quotation" is already a serious and problematic complication, though it is a welcomed gesture toward understanding the *Didache* as a whole. If we are to explain the production of the *Didache* within early Christian literature, and not only the occurrence of individual verbal parallels between the *Didache* and the synoptics, then the general probability of some pre-synoptic, oral

¹⁷ As Tuckett indicates with approval, Bentley Layton ("The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b-2.1," *HTThR* 61 [1968], pp. 343-83) attempted to take seriously the purposefulness of the *Didache* as a necessary part of an argument for the literary dependence of the *Didache* upon Matthew and Luke, as well as upon *Hermas* and Sirach; see Tuckett (1989), p. 200. But even Layton confines his analysis of the purposes of the *Didache* to its alleged redaction of the *sectio evangelica* (*Did* 1.3-2.1); see Henderson (1992), pp. 300-301; Milavec (1989).

¹⁸ Tuckett (1989), pp. 202, 204-205, 210-11, 214.

¹⁹ Tuckett (1989), p. 222 n. 106, in citation of Layton (1968), p. 374.

tradition and a pattern of “non-quotation” of the sayings of Jesus which lie behind the Pauline literature must at least suggest some further, legitimate complications. And the redactional, argumentative, and stylistic complexity of the *Didache* itself gives surprisingly complex implications to any formally simple source-critical solution.

III

So far I have attempted to show that, although Tuckett’s approach to stylistic overlaps between the *Didache* and the synoptics is definitive with regard to standard redaction- and source-critical methods, it remains unsatisfactory with regard to the semantic and stylistic unity and diversity of the *Didache* itself. At the end of this essay I will offer some suggestions about the way in which we might analyze the deliberate process of “style-switching” within the *Didache* at the micro-stylistic level. First, however, I want to compare various notions of style, including Tuckett’s redaction- and source-critical model, with some ancient and modern rhetorical theories of style and to propose a contemporary sociolinguistic framework with which to analyze style in the *Didache* and other early Christian texts.

Three main strands of thought on style are identifiable in NT studies and cognate disciplines today: the grammatical tradition, the redaction-critical tradition, and the tradition of semitic background studies of the Greek NT. Each of these is reflected in the typically brief and unsystematic sketch of style which appears in standard, gospel commentaries with their more-or-less statistical surveys of syntactical and vocabulary preferences.²⁰ In each tradition style typically works as a key but heuristic category which is defined by example and is used to enhance what ultimately are not arguments about style.

J. Eugene Botha, who writes within the distinctive milieu of South African discourse-studies, has called for a “serious reconsideration” of the category of style in the NT.²¹ He underscores the special influence of the grammatical tradition and its special weakness for stylistic analysis—the grammatical tradition is almost completely innocent

²⁰ See, e.g., the relatively full discussion of style in U. Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Zürich, 1992), pp. 31–56.

²¹ See also the programmatic approaches of E.A. Nida et al., *Style and Discourse with Special Reference to the Text of the Greek New Testament* (Cape Town, 1983); A.H. Snyman and J.v.W. Cronje, “Toward a New Classification of the Figures (CXHMATA) in the Greek New Testament,” *NTS* 32 (1986), pp. 113–21.

of the last hundred years of linguistic study. Botha worries that "the current approach merely *lists* different 'stylistic' features," and instead chooses to study "minute aspects of (grammatical) style, in isolation from one another." Finally, and not only with regard to redaction-critical study, "individual style studies are mostly undertaken not with a view to style itself, but to provide stylistic data for some other purpose." Much may be gained by a renewed approach to descriptive grammar itself, but Botha's critique indicts the majority of what most of us do with respect to stylistic considerations in NT studies, whether grammatical, redaction-critical, or bilingual:

[T]he fact that the traditional approach tends to focus only on the formal elements of language and vocabulary negates to a certain extent the nature of the texts we are dealing with. . . . If only the formal aspects of a specific communication are taken into consideration as is done currently, a whole dimension of language communication, the functional aspect as it pertains to style, is totally ignored. . . .²²

Botha's description of the task that lies ahead for NT stylistics begins with a factor which Tuckett's redactional stylistics also acknowledged, but as a kind of concession: "style has to do with the *choice* available to users of language." The person who seeks synoptic redactional traces in the *Didache* must acknowledge that if such traces are present in its "non-quotations," then their presence there is irreducibly the result of certain stylistic decisions on the part of the Didachist(s) to qualify or vary the dominant non-synoptic styles within the *Didache*. For Botha's sociolinguistic project, which in his case is informed principally by "speech-act theory," such a recognition of conscious choices is not simply the concession of a critic who is less interested in the host text than in its possible sources. On the contrary, Botha recognizes that stylistic variations (such as allusions to other texts) are usually purposeful and effective constituents of language. In this light, stylistic analysis once again becomes integral to the interpretation of texts.

At the same time, Botha reminds us that style, because it is grounded in the intention to communicate, is a social event. Though stylistics is oriented toward text-linguistics, it need not in principle reject an interest in historical contexts. The question of whether the *Didache* reflects the influence of canonical Matthew and/or Luke is

²² J.E. Botha, "Style in the New Testament: The Need for Serious Reconsideration," *JSN* 43 (1991), pp. 71-87 (quotations from pp. 76, 78, 77 respectively).

not in principle a bad question. A convincing answer would be relevant to any understanding of the shifts in style within the text. The question becomes problematic, however. Despite Tuckett's efforts, the best available method is inconclusive outside of the synoptic gospels themselves, and is reductive in its analysis of an author's intentions and of social motives which lie behind variations in style. A stylistic approach is especially appropriate in relation to those early Christian texts which, like the *Didache*, have resisted the standard questions about date, authorship, provenance, addressee, occasion, topic, etc. Such an approach promises modest results on both the literary-critical and the social-historical fronts without, in the former instance, the need to reduce historical communications to the level of texts or, in the latter instance, the need to diminish texts to the atoms of a tradition.

Redaction and Clumsy Style

The most interesting question that is raised for stylistics by the redaction-critical approach is the question of clumsiness over against the intention to communicate within the production of texts. Tuckett's most explicit reference to style within the *Didache* centers upon the allegedly clumsy reading of δὴ ῥάπισμα (*Did* 1.4a) against its presumed source, the more elegant Matthean parallel of ῥαπίζει (Mt 5:39):

[T]his need only show that the *Didache* is exercising an element of freedom at this point and that, if the usage is clumsy, the Didachist is capable of writing poor Greek. This may say something about the Didachist's style, but it does not solve the problem of whether the *Didache* is presupposing our gospels or not.²³

On Tuckett's hypothesis of synoptic dependence, it would be better to say that, if indeed the usage is clumsy, the Didachist can choose clumsy over elegant Greek. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the Didachist's capability is not merely that of limited competence—the *Didache* is quite capable of verbatim quotation—but is rather that of a chosen and purposeful, if not exactly pre-meditated, variation in styles.

The widely followed alternative to this view is to relate the stylistically "loose composition"²⁴ of the *Didache* to its presumed, generic

²³ Tuckett (1989), pp. 225–26.

²⁴ So G. Schöllgen, "Die *Didache* als Kirchenordnung: Zur Frage des Abfassungszweckes und seinen Konsequenzen für die Interpretation," *JAC* 29 (1986),

character as an informal scrapbook, "evolved literature" within a continuously "evolving tradition," "a typical church order."²⁵ From this form-critical perspective only the contents of the *Didache* need to be interpreted, and only as evidence for extra-textual developments, so that even the limited interest in style as an act of communication which is typical of the redaction critic is sacrificed to tradition-history: style is a negative index of an author's limited competence and a positive index of folkloric orality. In his discussion of *Did* 1.4a and Mt 5:39, Tuckett helpfully questions whether it is appropriate to label the choice of style in the *Didache* as "clumsy." He further relates this problem to that of "Mark's allegedly rough style" in synoptic criticism.²⁶

It often happens that texts are produced in a style which impedes the message, of course. It is fair to ask, therefore, whether the *Didache* or Mark did in fact produce in their intended readers the desired effects and whether the respective styles of these books facilitated or, instead, alienated sympathetic and appropriate reader responses. Some texts are badly written in terms of their own or their author's projected purposes for communication. An ambivalent early reception for the Gospel of Mark would seem to be suggested by the very presence of Mk 16:9–20, Matthew, Luke, and perhaps John. Subsequent gospel writers imitated Mark, but preferred to extend and clarify its often puzzling narrative and discourse. As for style, Matthew and Luke wrote in their own styles, yet without any suggestion that the Markan style made Mark difficult to read or even a literary failure. Matthean and Lukan redactional "improvement" of the Markan style is, on any reckoning, haphazard and inconsistent.²⁷ Redaction criticism assumed previously that, even if Mark's style was clumsy, its theology was clear and complete. If anything, however, Mark's

p. 22; cf. P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1985), p. 726: "Die Komposition erweist sich als recht locker."

²⁵ R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (New York, 1965), pp. 1–3; Th. Klauser, "Taufet in lebendigem Wasser! Zum religions- und kulturgeschichtlichen Verständnis von *Didache* 7,1–3," in E. Dassmann (ed.), *Gesammelte Arbeiten zur Liturgiegeschichte, Kirchengeschichte und christlichen Archäologie* (Münster in Westfalen, 1974), p. 178: "... also eine jener im Laufe der Kirchengeschichte sich ablösenden Kodifikationen, die aus längerer Praxis erwachsene Gewohnheiten zur gesetzlichen Norm erheben." See Henderson (1989), p. 288 and n. 27. I have not yet seen B. Steimer, *Vertex Traditionis* (Berlin, 1992).

²⁶ Tuckett (1989), p. 226 n. 123. See also J.C. Meagher, *Clumsy Construction in Mark's Gospel* (New York, 1979).

²⁷ See Tuckett (1983), pp. 9–25.

synoptic readers seem to suggest the reverse, that Mark's style was its least problematic characteristic.

[O]ur Greco-Roman reader would have regarded Mark as a well-constructed book with some nice literary touches to lighten its rough prose style. Mark's *rhetorical* (persuasive) effectiveness can be gauged by its survival and influence in the early church.²⁸

The literary influence of Mark seems mainly to have been mediated by other gospel writers. Nonetheless, at the micro-level of sentence production Mark's style seems to relate positively and intentionally to the higher levels of its narrative and parabolic styles.

It seems probable that the *Didache* presupposes ("omits") even more of its rhetorical and historical setting than do the gospels or the Pauline letters. Moreover, the *Wirkungsgeschichte* (historical impact) of the *Didache* is less clearly one of rhetorical "success" than is that of Mark. I doubt that the *Didache* was meant to be read as a *Kirchenordnung* (church order), whereas in hindsight it does not seem unfair to the motives of Mark to read the text as a gospel. Still, there is no internal evidence to suggest that the style of the *Didache* was "clumsy" in the sense that it was incompetent with respect to its ability to communicate its argument. The style of the *Didache* and its argument make similar and complementary demands upon the reader.

The problem is real enough, however, to suggest that there must be some nuance to Botha's proposal for a style-criticism of early Christian literature. Where Botha thinks of "style" as a category which "deals with the *successful communication* of texts in context," it might be more prudent to speak of stylistics, beside argumentation theory, as a category which is concerned with the linguistic potential of texts for communication, all the more because even some excellent texts fail or are failed in performance and reception. For example, Paul's relatively circumstantial Corinthian correspondence not only suggests that the apostle's epistolary rhetoric could fail, but also that Paul's stylistic choices were as deliberate and as problematic as any other aspect of his discourse. This seems to be broadly confirmed by the ambiguous development, imitation, and/or distortion of both Pauline

²⁸ M.A. Beavis, *Mark's Audience* (Sheffield, 1989), pp. 42–44. On redaction and theology, see C.F.D. Moule, "The Intentions of the Evangelists," in A.J.B. Higgins (ed.), *New Testament Essays* (Manchester, 1959), pp. 165–79; G. Johnston, "Should the Synoptic Evangelists be Considered as Theologians?," *StRel* 21 (1992), pp. 181–90.

style and thought in later Pauline literature.²⁹ When, as with the *Didache*, we do not know the result of the historical communication, it is all the more essential to discern the styles of a text and to ask how the choice of styles contributes to fulfil the purposes of communication. And where, as with Mark or the letters of Paul, there is evidence for some partial, rhetorical failure, the application of stylistic analysis should be just as urgent as the more common argumentative/discursive criticism.

Multilingualism and Style

The particular question of the detection and interpretation of possible (stylistic) semitisms in early Christian texts raises similar questions about linguistic competence (ours and those of the authors!) over against the intention of the communication—with the added problem of the need to define communities which shared a distinctive speech and to relate them to readerships for early Christian writings. Sometimes semitisms are recognized as evidence for a conscious, stylistic attempt to sound biblical, in the idioms of the Septuagint, or to add local color to an exotic gospel. More often, however, the search for semitisms, like the search for redactional peculiarities and influences, reduces style to an almost arbitrary collision between the prehistory of a text and the idiosyncrasies of translators and redactors who are only dubiously competent.

Bilingual readings of markedly unilingual texts within early Christian literature suffer from a lack of interest in bilingualism, cultural assimilation, and the choice of language as sociolinguistic problems.³⁰ The most important fact about style in early Christian literature is its adoption of Greek, a fact which is even more interesting if there was widespread bilingualism within those communities to which early Christians belonged. (Even pre-synoptic, oral tradition appears strikingly hellenized—if Jesus spoke in Aramaic, his most influential auditors listened and recollected in Greek.) Certainly, if we grant that the author of Matthew or of John (or of Romans) “could have been bi- or tri-lingual,” we should nonetheless wonder why “a competent but unexciting style would fit in with this.” Does a (competent but

²⁹ For an impressive model, see W. Bujard, *Stilanalytische Untersuchungen zum Kolosserbrief als Beitrag zur Methodik von Sprachvergleichen* (Göttingen, 1973).

³⁰ M. Silva, “Bilingualism and the Character of Palestinian Greek,” *Bibl* 61 (1980), pp. 198–219 (esp. pp. 216–19).

unexciting?) style really distinguish a unilingual author or a unilingual tradition from its polyglot neighbors?³¹

IV

An obvious context for new stylistic research on early Christian texts is the revival of rhetorical criticism in NT studies. How does stylistics function within a general rhetorical criticism of the early Christian production of texts? How does this differ instructively from concepts and uses of style that have been outlined above? On the other hand, how does a rhetorical stylistics relate to a sociolinguistic approach to style like that which is sought by Botha?

Style and Ideology in Old and New Rhetorics

NT rhetorical criticism is characterized by tension between the influence of ancient thought on rhetoric and that of contemporary rhetorical theories. Within this dialectic no purist position is possible. It is impossible to avoid modern categories, even if we dress them in Greek or Latin. It is equally impossible to avoid the weight of (sometimes repressed) historical, rhetorical tradition on our texts and on our critical tradition, especially where the latter is tempted to boast of its newness. Nevertheless, ancient rhetoric and the contemporary revival of rhetorical criticism differ significantly over the issue of style.

The new rhetoric is a conscious correction of the individualist aesthetics of the romantics and existentialists in which both "rhetoric" and "style" were reduced to impressionistic judgments about the identity of authors. In an over compensation for such aesthetics/poetics, the new rhetoric of argumentation marginalizes the role of style to an extent that is unparalleled in even the most Aristotelean and dialectical rhetorics of antiquity. The irony is that, in the appropriate rejection of romantic aesthetics, the new rhetoric accepts the romantics' caricature of the "old" rhetoric as pedantically—or manipulatively—obsessed with style at the expense of substance:

The single most important feature of the new rhetorical criticism is a clarity about rhetoric as argumentation. . . . [R]hetoric had long been

³¹ R.A. Burridge, *What are the Gospels?* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 210 and nn. 49, 51–52 (on Matthew), and p. 232 (on John). See also R. MacKenzie, "The Ethnic Background of John the Seer: An Examination of the Language, Scriptural allusions and Distinctive Motifs of the Apocalypse" (Montreal, 1992), pp. 164–92.

regarded mainly as a matter of style, ornamentation, and manipulation, not as rules by which debate, argumentation, and discourse proceed.

Modern rhetorical theory as it is applied to the NT focuses upon this "turn toward argumentation," which is explicitly understood as a diversion from aesthetic stylistics. In this climate it is possible to suppose that rhetorical effect is so determined by patterns of argumentation that "calculating the persuasive force of an argumentation" will suffice to solve "the rhetorical equation." A theoretically refined analysis of the argument of a text consequently need scarcely to refer to its style, let alone to any stylistic theory.³²

In NT (and *Didache*) criticism with its Greek primary texts, the attractiveness of this "new rhetoric" of argumentation theory is still partly grounded in its claim to be a "rediscovery of the old" and, thereby, to offer a privileged insight into the production and reception of texts in hellenistic antiquity.³³ It is important, then, that ancient rhetoric as it influenced Christian origins was not determined by the modern "either/or" between ornament and argumentation. Ancient rhetoric assumed that stylistics and argumentation theory were coordinate and compatible aspects of a single theory of effective speech. Hence, stylistics in ancient rhetorical theory may not be reduced to the theory of ornamentation and may not be neglected or even subsumed under the category of argumentation by any modern rhetoric which claims ancient antecedents. Thus the most promising discussion of style with regard to early Christian literature to date maintains the relationship between style and argumentation, and deliberately appeals to ancient rhetoric as the dominant matrix for the hellenistic production of texts.³⁴ At the same time, it must be granted to the "new" rhetoricians that there are serious problems and inconsistencies in stylistic theory within ancient rhetoric.

The grammatical and redaction-critical traditions are limited as tools in the analysis of style by their resolute formalism, an approach which considers style as a congeries of "features." Ancient rhetoric could also take formalist taxonomy to extremes. Essentially, however, the rhetoricians regarded style as a pervasive and dynamic aspect of

³² B.L. Mack, *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (Minneapolis, 1990), pp. 15, 19–21. See F. Siegert, *Argumentation bei Paulus* (Tübingen, 1985), p. 196 and n. 74: "Partikeln als Schmuck kommen bei Paulus nicht vor. . . . Mit dieser Bemerkung sollen Stilfragen . . . nicht ganz aus der Argumentationsanalyse verbannt, aber doch für marginal erklärt werden."

³³ Mack (1990), p. 16.

³⁴ Nida et al. (1983), pp. 9–19.

all effective speech and not as a repertoire of tricks and ornaments. As a result, it is within the rhetorical discussion of style that Greco-Roman antiquity most nearly addressed from its point of view of performance those issues of meaning and language which the hermeneutical tradition addresses from the point of view of the interpreter.

The most common way to compare styles in ancient rhetoric is also the vaguest. The rhetoricians generally speak of three levels, registers or "qualities" (χαρακτῆρες) of style, but with a wide variety of ways to define the two poles of the stylistic continuum. From a formalistic and micro-stylistic perspective the stylistic extremes are most often represented as the periodic and metered approach versus the paratactic approach (λέξις κατεστραμμένη versus εἰρομένη). A more interesting distinction with respect to hermeneutics and rhetoric might be made upon the basis of the social prestige of a text's subject, speaker, and/or audience. The rhetoricians were constantly tempted to coordinate stylistic formalism neatly with their class consciousness by a preference for the periodic, cultivated, and Attic approach over the paratactic and Asianic approach. Most rhetoricians were pragmatic enough in the end, however, to recognize the effectiveness and appropriateness of a certain dignity in plainness—the ideal orator was always the master of all three registers and of the contexts in which to deploy each, or to transcend all.

The tension between formalism and pragmatism is even more evident in theories of multiple qualities of style which sought to replace the polar theory of levels. The older idea of a stylistic continuum never lost its heuristic convenience, but the addition of further style-types recognized the pragmatic possibility of many successful combinations and permutations of style and the limitations of any "pure" stylistic option. Moreover, Demetrius (first century B.C.E.) and others who listed four qualities, together with Hermogenes (second century C.E.), who held no less than twenty virtues or types (ἄρεται or ἰδέαι) of style, agree in their preference for "intensity" or "forcefulness" (δεινότης) over other qualities. This plurality and hierarchy of qualities more (in Hermogenes) or less (in Demetrius) subverts their formalist attempts to associate each quality with its characteristic blend of micro-stylistic figures. The rhetorical effect of particular figures changes dramatically in response to particular rhetorical contexts and purposes and in relation to particular stylistic blends.

The preferred figures of speech within a text (e.g., for parataxis,

redundancy, and the “dramatic present” in Mark), consequently, are not enough to characterize the style of the text without reference to macro-stylistic values, what we might call narrative or discursive style. Even more important, the movement to transcend formalism within ancient stylistics turns theoretical interest away from stylistic definition and toward stylistic variation within a single speech. “Intensity” (Hermogenes and Demetrius) and “sublimity” (Longinus, first century C.E.) are not attained through the inflexible assertion of a set personal style. Instead, an effective style is achieved and measured by the interplay between formal features (figuration, diction, syntax) and the intellectual and “emotional continuum binding author, work and audience.”³⁵ In this sense, Longinus can even admire a forceful turn of biblical rhetoric (*DeSubl* 9.9 on Gen 1:3, 9).

Despite Aristotle’s tendency to reduce rhetoric to argument wherever possible and despite the scholastic and pedagogical tendency toward formalism, ancient rhetoric espoused an increasingly affective theory of communication in its study of style. Even for Aristotle, style and its variation are integral to expression, so that the style of a text can no more be reduced to a list of typical features that occur within the text than one can reduce its argument to a list of typical syllogisms. On the contrary, style is the whole relationship between the many speech choices of a text and the universal means of expression and persuasion—ἦθος and πάθος, as well as λόγος.

Greco-Roman rhetoric liked to tie the virtues of communication to specific congeries of figures, vocabulary, and syntactical choices. To that extent it shares the formalism of the grammatical and redaction-critical traditions. Unlike them, however, ancient rhetoric located stylistic analysis within an aspiring, general, and inclusive theory of effective verbal communication. H.L.F. Drijepondt has shown that the theory and practice of stylistic *varietas*, of good style as “pulsating, so to speak, within the legitimate limits of contraction and relaxation,” is a major strand of continuity and development within the old rhetorical tradition.³⁶ In this respect above all, antique rhetoric, for all of its quaintness, has important affinities with modern

³⁵ D.C. Innes, “‘Longinus’ and Others,” in P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1989), p. 87; H.L.F. Drijepondt, *Die antike Theorie der varietas* (Hildesheim, 1979); also Hermogenes, *On Types of Style* (Chapel Hill, 1987); Demetrius, *A Greek Critic* (Toronto, 1961).

³⁶ Drijepondt (1979), p. 8, in citation of G.L. Hendrickson, “The Peripatetic Mean of Style and the Three Stylistic Characters,” *AJPh* 25 (1904), p. 135 n. 1.

sociolinguistics, including the “speech-act theory” to which Botha looks for inspiration.³⁷

Style and Sociolinguistics

Rhetorical stylistics and sociolinguistic research agree that style is a series of choices which are integral to the production of meaningful texts. Grammar, redaction-criticism, and argumentation theory alike tend to treat style as a closed repertoire of often subliminal and/or ornamental features, features which are paradoxically distinctive of each text yet which may be detached from the argument itself. Such notions of style (i.e., as a virtually unconscious reflex) are not simply alien to ancient rhetoric, which itself prescribes the use of careful choice and variation of stylistic register. Their treatment of style as subconscious, arbitrary, and incidental to the meaning of a text also contradicts contemporary speech studies. Sociolinguistic theory and, increasingly, actual field study confirm the assumption in antiquity that style is neither subliminal nor ornamental and, above all, that it is no static reflex of personality or of social context. On the contrary, style should be understood by both speakers and audiences as an intentional and dynamic part of speech communication. Not every stylistic turn is carefully premeditated, though many usages are, and very few stylistic moves are non-functional, subconscious slips, even in a culture which reveals no formal training in rhetoric. Sociolinguistics and traditional rhetoric both hold speakers and writers responsible for the texture (style), as well as for the tenor (argumentation), of their language as a complete act of communication.

At the same time, rhetorical and sociolinguistic theories of style resist both the romantic individualism and the theological communalism of redaction criticism, which focuses upon the *Personalstil* (individual style) of a particular author, upon *the* style of a single text, or upon the habits of the presumed speech-community which lies behind a text.

In the developed theory of rhetoric, stylistic distinction was seen essentially in terms of types, rather than individuals; the *χαρακτῆρες* and *genera* express shared qualities which are opposed to other shared qualities.

³⁷ Botha (1991), pp. 80–87; J.G. du Plessis, “Speech Act Theory and New Testament Interpretation with Special Reference to G.N. Leech’s *Pragmatic Principles*,” in P.J. Hartin and J.H. Petzer (eds.), *Text and Interpretation* (Leiden, 1991), pp. 129–42.

As such they reveal a significant difference between ancient and modern outlooks. . . .³⁸

The difference between a classical, rhetorical, and sociolinguistic stylistics, on the one hand, and either a redaction-critical or a neo-rhetorical (argumentation) approach to style, on the other, is broadly a difference between interactive and determinist theories respectively. Redaction critics, as in Tuckett's case, or argumentation theorists, such as Burton Mack or Vernon Robbins, may well nuance the basic determinism of their positions. They may do so through their acknowledgement of uncertainty about the selection of the main, determinant factor within the production of a text (e.g., source, author, or "speech-community" as the locus of tradition, theology, and ideology). Alternately, they may reserve a limited, residual role for various secondary determinants (such as the author's whim) as a means by which to define style as a series of socially or topically irrelevant redactional changes. Still, both argumentation theory and redaction criticism deny by their very method that style can be radically co-determined by the continuous and changing interaction of linguistic options, authorial goals, traditional and institutional conventions, subject matter, audience(s), and speech-communities. Argumentation theory and redaction criticism share a common goal, that is, to link directly textual details and macro-social phenomena—in the case of criticism of the *Didache*, this would be the development of early Christianity and its distinctive literature.

Ancient rhetoricians and modern sociolinguistics agree that the production of texts, whether written or conversational, is a deliberate negotiation and is therefore socially ambiguous. Choices that are made by authors combine and re-combine with social, linguistic, and argumentative constraints at every move. On the one hand, style thus may not be radically detached from the other linguistic and rhetorical qualities of texts. On the other hand, style and other rhetorical qualities are only indirectly related to macro-social developments. Texts are not communities and arguments are not movements, even when they wish to be.³⁹

³⁸ N. O'Sullivan, *Alcidamas, Aristophanes and the Beginnings of Greek Stylistic Theory* (Stuttgart, 1992), p. 3.

³⁹ See A.D. Grimshaw, "Micro-Macrolevels," in U. Ammon et al. (eds.), *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1987), pp. 66–68. Also in the same volume, see B. Gardin and J.B. Marcellesi, "The Subject Matter of Sociolinguistics," pp. 22–23.

[S]peakers do not use language in the way they do simply because of their social identities or because of other situational factors. Rather, they exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature.⁴⁰

Style, then, is not simply the product of an author, nor that of the speech-community of the projected audience. Nor may individual features of style normally be detached from one another or from their literary contexts in order to be reassigned to some other text. Instead, style in any exchange, performance, or text is a sequence of choices by an author which are variously marked in context and are variously marked in contrast to what the author knows about the conventions and expectations of the audience.

Ancient rhetoric as an intellectual institution dominated education in the Greek language during the period of Christian origins. Any Greek text that was more than a few lines in length was written by and, at least initially, for the "graduates" of the basic rhetorical curriculum. One of the goals of rhetoric as such was to heighten the predictability of unmarked, "normal" choices and, hence, also to sensitize audiences/readerships to marked stylistic choices. In particular, the selection and variation of styles was prescribed and ingrained as a key responsibility on the part of the speaker/author. From this perspective within rhetoric, as well as in terms of general sociolinguistic insight, instances of "style-switching" within texts are more interesting than even the best catalogue of typical or redactional features.

The aspect of reception of style was decisively fecundated by the works of Riffaterre . . . who combines the conception of style as contrast within the text with the assumption that the reader reactivates the style in the process of reading by his reaction to the text.

Thus stylistic effects are only the result of the interaction between the consequences of the choice taken by the author . . . and the reaction of the reader. Style is therefore not a static, invariable phenomenon in texts, but a virtual quality that has to be reconstructed in the communication process (that is, during the reception of the text). Only the consequences of the choice once taken by the author and the preconditions of the reader's reaction which is determined by his reading expectations are recognizable in the text.⁴¹

⁴⁰ C. Myers-Scotton, *Social Motivations for Codeswitching* (Oxford, 1993), p. 57.

⁴¹ B. Spillner, "Style and Register," in U. Ammon et al. (eds.), *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1987), p. 279. See M. Riffaterre, *Essais de stylistique structurale*

Sociolinguistics differs from rhetoric in that the former is concerned with the analysis of ordinary conversation as well as with extended, even literary, texts. In fact, the interactive quality of common conversation can only be studied when the conversational process is treated as a text. Moreover, a central premise of ancient rhetoric is that the production of written texts and the performance of even the most formal set-pieces are not shielded from the interactivity of conversational norms. Dialogue, anecdotes, live speakers, live opponents, and live audiences never lie far behind ancient Greek texts. "Conversation analysis" of texts which were produced in a culture of rhetorical performance is thus no oxymoron. Furthermore, the valid part of the form-critical heritage in the study of early Christian writing warns that here, especially, distinctions among conversation, rhetoric, and literature are not to be forced. It remains partly true that the *Didache* is *Kleinliteratur* (low literature) in the positive sense that it makes an unusually cogent, literary claim to be speech, speech that is marked with a rhetorical consciousness about its speaker/writer, message, and possible audiences/readerships.

If we keep the word "pattern" as a general, non-technical name for all the organization, at all levels, that is a crucial property of language as such, then the special property of literary language is the patterning of the variability of these patterns. In other words, the creative writer finds and exploits the *irregularity* that the patterns allow, and in doing so superimposes a further *regularity*. It is this "regularity," as we may reasonably call it provided we avoid giving the term an arithmetical interpretation, that marks the "focus on the message."

Moreover, a text is meaningful not only in virtue of what is but also in virtue of what might have been.⁴²

V

In any discussion of the application of linguistic theory and method to the study of literary texts, one of the difficulties that arise is that there is so much background to be filled in before one actually reaches the text. . . . However, if students can be asked to comment on the language of literary texts within the limits of an examination, it should be possible to give

(Paris, 1971), pp. 27-158; B. Spillner, *Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1974).

⁴² M.A.K. Halliday, "The Linguistic Study of Literary Texts," in H.G. Lunt (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists* (The Hague, 1964), pp. 302, 305; "Descriptive Linguistics in Literary Studies," in D.C. Freeman (ed.), *Linguistics and Literary Style* (New York, 1970), pp. 57-72.

selective illustrations of what would be regarded as a good answer to a question on the language of particular short texts.⁴³

What would a stylistic description/analysis of the *Didache* look like? The general rhetorical and sociolinguistic framework which has been advocated above still requires a more microscopic vocabulary with which to discuss stylistic variations. An appropriate vocabulary is available in the "markedness model" which has been proposed by Carol Myers-Scotton as a way to describe "codeswitching" (CS) in multilingual contexts. "Codeswitching" designates "alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation" or text. Thus early Christian texts such as the *Didache* include a small proportion of Aramaic(Hebrew) words and phrases. Such multilingual CS can be conceived as a special case of "style-switching" which goes "beyond the style-switching of monolinguals and allow[s] individuals a flexibility of expression that could not be obtained in a single system."⁴⁴

The "markedness model" of Myers-Scotton interprets CS and, by extension, other "style-switching" as the result of purposeful, if not always fully conscious, choices by speakers from among socially "marked" and "unmarked" stylistic options.

"Unmarked" is used to mean that the choice of a particular linguistic variety is *expected* as the medium for a talk exchange, given the norms of the society regarding the salience of specific situational factors present (e.g. the speaker and addressee, the topic, the setting). "Marked" choices are at the other end of a continuum; they are not usual, and in some sense they are *dis-identifications* with what is expected. . . . But even though community members all possess a sense of relative markedness, and even though they have common experiences regarding markedness, not all speakers make the same choices in the same interaction types.⁴⁵

Such variation occurs because different stylistic choices index different "sets of social rights and obligations" (RO sets) and because different stylistic choices differ in relative markedness. Myers-Scotton emphasizes

that there is a single, general motivation for making marked choices, even though a number of specific effects may result, depending on the context. . . . All these, however, can be subsumed under one general effect:

⁴³ Halliday (1970), pp. 57–58.

⁴⁴ F.C. Southworth, "Indian Bilingualism: Some Educational and Linguistic Implications," *PNYAS* 345 (1980), p. 140, as cited in Myers-Scotton (1993), p. 64.

⁴⁵ Myers-Scotton (1993), pp. 151–52.

to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it.⁴⁶

The social "indexicality" of choices in style is, however, not immediate or simple, so that "style-switching" can be risky, tentative, worthwhile, or embarrassing for a speaker. Different stylistic options carry different attributes in the use of real, social language: "each linguistic variety contains more than one attribute, not all of which are equally salient in a given situation." In the African contexts which were studied by Myers-Scotton, the use of English has many attributes (e.g., education, authority, internationalism, formality) which would not be equally salient in all contexts (e.g., home, school, workplace, church) or in all interpersonal situations (e.g., friendship, patronage, debate). Moreover, most attributes can have a positive or negative value in relation to a speaker's goals for communication. Formality might increase or decrease social distance, depending upon social factors and upon the skill of the speaker. Every variety of style thus evokes numerous attributes which vary in salience and value. In addition, any text employs several varieties of style which serve to index and adjust changing RO sets. The theoretical and practical results are complex, but they permit a more realistic description of the fluctuating relationship between language and social (dis)orders than is possible within neo-rhetorical models of "rhetorical situation"⁴⁷ or form- and redaction-critical models of *Sitz im Leben* (life setting).

"Style-switching" in a conversation is a risky, but effective, venture. The frequent use of "style-switching" can serve to manage risk levels in communication since it permits adjustments and ambiguity. In long texts and monologues like the *Didache*, we might expect to find "style-switching" less often or less markedly than in impromptu conversation. "Style-switching" does occur on a significant scale within the *Didache*, however, as indeed it must if utter monotony is to be

⁴⁶ Myers-Scotton (1993), p. 132.

⁴⁷ See A. Brinton, "Situation in the Theory of Rhetoric," *PhRh* 14 (1981), pp. 234–48; S. Consigny, "Rhetoric and Its Situations," *PhRh* 7 (1974), pp. 175–86; L. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *PhRh* 1 (1968), pp. 1–14; R.E. Vatz, "The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation," *PhRh* 6 (1973), pp. 154–61; W. Wuellner, "Toposforschung und Torahinterpretation bei Paulus und Jesus," *NTS* 23 (1978), pp. 463–83; E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Rhetorical Situation and Historical Reconstruction in 1 Corinthians," *NTS* 33 (1987), pp. 386–403 (esp. p. 387); Mack (1990), pp. 15, 19–21; D.L. Stamps, "Rethinking the Rhetorical Situation: the Entextualization of the Situation in New Testament Epistles," in S.E. Porter and T.H. Olbricht (eds.), *Rhetoric and the New Testament* (Sheffield, 1993), pp. 193–210.

avoided. To illustrate the possibilities and need for a stylistic analysis, I will point mainly to two categories of "style-switching" in the *Didache*—Greek/Aramaic(Hebrew) CS, and quotation and "non-quotation." These are, of course, far from the only instances of patterned "style-switching" in the *Didache*. The unevenly distributed switches between "passages-tu" and "passages-vous," to which Jean-Paul Audet gave a redaction-historical interpretation, have long since been reinterpreted as purposeful variations in style which index different RO sets.⁴⁸

Greek/Aramaic(Hebrew) Codeswitching

Notwithstanding the regional, ethnic, religious, and class origins of early Christianity, the unmarked linguistic/stylistic choice for the movement's first literature was an unlearned (though not uneducated) Greek, what Lars Rydbeck has called technical Greek.⁴⁹ The choice was no doubt facilitated by the presence of the Septuagint and, for the *Didache*, by the availability of the Two Ways in Greek. One attribute of certain stylistic registers for some groups who read hellenistic Greek may have been its biblical quality.⁵⁰ At any rate, both approaches to the production of texts, either translation or new composition, indicate a definite, public, and collective choice, and one which was not simply obvious in view of the different options that are reflected by Qumran and rabbinic texts, or by the emergence of Coptic and Syriac vernaculars.

With respect to *koiné* Greek, which was the unmarked option within the earliest period of Christianity's production of texts, I suppose that its salient, valuable attribute was its association with cross-cultural and inter-communal discourse, rather than with its prestige, since early Christian writers for the most part selected stylistic registers which were unlikely to have the elitist attributes to which, for example, the prose of Josephus aspired. Again, the Lukan prologue (Lk 1.1–4) proves that the choice of a dignified, lively, but unpretentious stylistic register was not always the consequence of linguistic inability. In other words, the minimum sociolinguistic inference that is to be drawn from the unmarked use of Greek among Christians is that

⁴⁸ J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), pp. 105–20; *contra* P. Nautin, "La composition de la 'Didachè' et son titre," *RHR* 78 (1959), pp. 191–214; Milavec (1989), p. 110 n. 14.

⁴⁹ L. Rydbeck, *Fachprosa, Vermeintliche Volksprache und Neues Testament* (Uppsala, 1967).

⁵⁰ Silva (1980), pp. 216–19.

the salient attributes of Greek for early Christian writers and readers were sufficiently positive to motivate a consistent pattern.

This generalization is qualified a little by the avoidance of elite stylistic registers and by the evocation of biblical styles—and by surprisingly occasional, that is, marked CS into Aramaic(Hebrew). The exceptional, marked option for Aramaic is interesting stylistically, because it does not happen often or randomly and because its use is never fully predictable. Apart from proper names (though CS between “Cephas” and “Peter” in Gal 2:7–9 deserves some sociolinguistic analysis⁵¹), there are several instances of strongly marked CS in the NT which do indeed seem to index what Myers-Scotton calls “sets of rights and obligations,” as distinct from the RO sets that are implied by the unmarked Greek of the surrounding texts.

Thus, as Morton Smith has demonstrated, CS into Aramaic (with accompanying Greek paraphrases) dramatizes the healing speech-acts of Jesus in two Markan miracle stories (Mk 5:41; 7:34). In these cases CS seems to index a marked shift in the mix of RO. Matthew and Luke both omit CS in their parallels to Mk 5:25–34 and suppress Mk 7:32–37 altogether, quite probably because, like Smith, though with disapproval, they sensed that the Markan stories index the RO set of hellenistic magic. Surely the historical Jesus often spoke Aramaic. When the Markan Jesus suddenly does so, however, the wrong attribute of exotic style becomes salient (i.e., a bad extra-textual RO set is indexed) for the two Markan readers whom we know best—Matthew and Luke.⁵²

In a less offensive way, Jesus’ cry of dereliction, which paraphrases Ps 22:2a (Mk 15:34; Mt 27:46), even more clearly indexes a shift in the dominant RO set. Like the cry of “Abba,” this CS marks an overheard, direct address to God, in this case one which is stylistically central to the argument of those gospels which use it. As in the miracle stories which were offered above, CS here has an important narrative function, that is, it serves to index the key RO shift of the story. Presumably, the Aramaic citation of a Psalm (with an odd Greek paraphrase) also would have indexed RO sets within (an already conservative strand of) Christian liturgy, as well as within Jesus’ story.

⁵¹ For some unsatisfactory, non-stylistic analyses, see H.D. Betz, *Galatians* (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 96–97; B.D. Ehrman, “Cephas and Peter,” *JBL* 109 (1990), pp. 463–74; D.C. Allison, “Peter and Cephas: One and the Same,” *JBL* 111 (1991), pp. 489–95.

⁵² M. Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco, 1978), pp. 128, 204.

In the *Didache*, CS is localized at the end of a clearly marked (*Did* 10.1, 7; 11.1) section of liturgical speech. The CS is embedded within a portion of text (10.2–6) which is stylistically distinct from its immediate framework (6.1 or 6.3–10.7), which in turn is both stylistically and topically distinct within the *Didache*. Correspondingly, the liturgically indexed RO set in *Did* 10.2–6 is not identical to the prescribed RO set which is indexed by 6.3–10.7, nor to the argumentatively indexed RO set of the *Didache* as a whole. My guess is that the degree and kind of social difference which is implied in the stereotypical, sapiential parent/sage-child/novice relationship that appears in the long, opening instruction of the *Didache* (broadly, 1.1–6.2) is different from the RO sets which lie behind the congregational instructions in 6.3–10.7. In the latter section the implied social distance between the speaker and reader is still great, but the speaker now formally reduces and structures the possible social distances among readers as a cultic community.

At the end of the eucharistic context, 10.6 is marked by “style-switching” even apart from the double CS of “Hosanna” and “Maranatha”:

Das eucharistische Gebet hat sein Ende gefunden. Man erwartet sofort die Bemerkung, die man jetzt V.7 liest. . . . Dazwischen steht V.6—literarisch wie sachlich eine der schwersten cruces interpretum der *Did*. Zunächst ist deutlich, daß in 10,6 ein anderes genus dicendi vorliegt als in den vorausgehenden Versen.⁵³

The verse intrudes stylistically as an abrupt concatenation of shorter clauses, mostly with verbs of imperatival entreaty, of which two (i.e., those that are directed to the Lord) are in Hebrew or Aramaic. Two other clauses also intrude stylistically—the two conditionals—which make it clear that concrete RO sets are negotiated at this point in the imagined liturgy. The rapid shift in language here clearly has social implications, but these implications are not so well defined. Someone is being caught between liturgical immediacy and eschatological imminence. *Did* 10.6 raises the basic sociolinguistic question (“Who says what to whom?”) more forcefully than does the surrounding context, but commentators can only offer a guess here. The indeterminate relation between liturgical and eschatological

⁵³ K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), p. 201 (and for what follows, pp. 201–205 in general). Audet (1958) compares *Did* 10.6 to “une allée de sphinx” (p. 410).

“coming” arises especially because the whole text is reported. The writer and reader of the *Didache* are not participants as such in the liturgy which is prescribed here.

One RO shift is clear, however. There is no question that *Did* 10.1–5 is closely related to Jewish meal blessings (*m.Ber* 6.1; 7.3). Thus our text is among the earliest witnesses to such blessings. Any close textual relationship with specific Jewish analogues is unattested for *Did* 10.6. On the other hand, the Hebrew cry of “Hosanna!” in v. 6a can hardly fail to index RO sets which are determined by the festal liturgies of the temple year, even if these are known in biblical tradition (the relation to Mt 21:7–9 is less clear). By contrast, the Aramaic cry of “Maranatha!” in v. 6b places the reader (not to mention the participant) in a different community, though *not* in a different speech-community. The specific and emphatic social index of *Did* 10.6b, and its contrast with that of 10.6a, is confirmed dramatically by the parallel construction of 1 Cor 16:22: conditional + third person imperative + CS to “Maranatha.”

Moreover, Rev 22:20 confirms that the use of CS in the context of the *Didache* is not somehow determined linguistically, the switch to Aramaic is not somehow inevitable. Rev 22:16–17, 20 resembles *Did* 10.6 stylistically as it contextualizes the call to the Lord as the climactic response in a catena of short versicles with responses, though (unlike the *Didache*) the canonical passage offers rubrics which indicate who should speak and what should be done. Inescapably, though, the liturgist behind the *Didache* could have said “Come, Lord!” in Greek, yet chose instead to preserve the Aramaic style, to address the Lord more solemnly, to contrast with the acclamation “Hosanna!” and to contrast even more forcefully with the wider speech community that is indexed by the less marked Greek and Jewish prayers in *Did* 10.1–5 and earlier.

The point is that, through the use of style, the liturgist did something emphatic by causing the cries of “Hosanna!” and “Maranatha!” to ascend one after the other at the ultimate moment of an otherwise monolingual liturgy and by framing these cries within a stylistically distinct sub-context (*Did* 10.6; 1 Cor 16:22; Rev 22:20). Not only is liturgical tradition being transformed here, but individual relationships to the newly self-conscious, cultic group are also being changed—a stylistic speech-act which the *Didache* in turn was willing to incorporate (the interplay between dominical advent and more ordinary “coming” in the readership community is of great interest to the *Didache*; cf. 12.1–2; 16.1).

Quotation and Non-Quotation

We have noticed above the vigorous (if not disinterested) defense by the redaction critic on behalf of the stylistic right of the *Didache* to assimilate synoptic literary influences. I have questioned the coherence of the redaction-critical expectation, nonetheless, that the *Didache* will have preserved stylistic fingerprints of gospels which it does not quote. Here, however, the important point is that the *Didache* can quote. It certainly is able to make stylistically marked and/or verbatim quotations and explicit allusions. Indeed, the few explicit quotations in the text use a style of quotation which is strongly marked and which is particular to the *Didache*. Furthermore, the act of quotation is not an automatic reflex for the *Didache*. In its most massive and direct literary dependence, it neither quotes nor explicitly alludes, but simply incorporates the Two Ways *en bloc*, though under redaction no doubt.

Moreover, when the *Didache* uses the OT, it does so mainly through the use of "non-quotation," that is, by stylistically unmarked allusions. As Klaus Wengst wryly hints against those who doubt that there is some direct synoptic literary influence, the *Didache* handles OT tradition and synoptic-type tradition in pretty much the same ways, so that if "non-quotation" of the synoptics in the *Didache* is held to prove a literary independence, the same argument would prove that Paul, let alone the *Didache*, is literarily independent of the OT.⁵⁴ In fact, the phenomena of literary and traditional influence are more complex by far than such arguments either way would suggest. The uses of the OT by the *Didache*, for example, suggest more about the *indirectness* of influences which were mediated liturgically, paranetically, or sermonically than about whether such mediation was mostly literary. If synoptic influences upon the *Didache* appear as indirect as the older, more widely authoritative OT influences, then we may well doubt that books mediated the former.

Ob man aus dem freien Zitat des Alten Testaments schließen darf, daß der Didachist eventuell auch sein vorliegendes Evangelium (wenn er ein solches vorliegen hatte) in gleicher Weise frei zitierte, kann man natürlich fragen.⁵⁵

At any rate the stylistic question has hardly been asked: why, after all, does the *Didache* quote when and as it does?

⁵⁴ K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), p. 30, as cited by Tuckett (1989), p. 199.

⁵⁵ Niederwimmer (1989), p. 240 n. 36 (on *Did* 14.3).

The *Didache* formally acknowledges four quotations (1.6; 9.5; 14.3; 16.7), which are strongly marked by their exclusive use of λέγω-citation formulas. Elsewhere in the *Didache*, various forms of the word λέγω are avoided (προλλέγω is used by the *Didache* for its two marked self-allusions; see 7.1; 11.1). This reservation of the language's most common verb of speech for use in quotations need not disclaim any literary influence, but it does imply that when the *Didache* quotes, it does so as a way to signal a special appeal to the *vox domini* (though this is syntactically a little difficult in 16.7, where the Lord talks about himself!).⁵⁶ What defines a quotation as a quotation for the *Didache* is not verbatim precision, but specific, transcendent authority. Indeed, the use of the past tense further marks quotations within the *Didache* as speech that is remembered, not as present text. The *Didache* does not know (or at least rejects) the ὡς λέγει (as it says) of the NT, let alone its ὡς γέγραπται (as it was written). This symbolic orality may, of course, be a fiction, but it is an extraordinary convention among early Christian documents, one which is remarkably consistent and presumably purposeful and is indicative of RO toward the highest authority.

In terms of content, the four quotations are notably pragmatic. The first three are straightforward directives on topics of socially normative importance to the *Didache*—discrimination in almsgiving (1.6; cf. Sir 12:1?), the cultic exclusion of outsiders (9.4; cf. Mt 7:6 and n. 16 above), and the transfer of the sacrificial cult into the “place and time” and social context (RO sets) of a regular, gentile “cult-group” (13.3 [and 9.4]; cf. Mal 1:11b, 14b LXX). These marked “quotations” say most about how the *Didache* receives prevenient (or dominical in the sense of the *Didache*) authority, and only secondarily cause perplexity about the sources and media of that authority's reception. These quotations assert a kind of canonicity which hardly requires influential books. All of these “quotations” function by the “sacralization” of social distance. In this way they allow the author to speak with a direct, dominical authority at these selected points and to re-negotiate RO sets with a minimum of risk to the author's own standing in relation to the reader.

This is also the function of the final quotation (16.7; cf. Zech 14:5 LXX), which excludes outsiders from the resurrection and associates them with the Lord's coming just as sharply as the previous

⁵⁶ Henderson (1992), pp. 302–303 (and Table One, which by my error omits *Did* 9.5).

quotations divide insiders from outsiders in the cultic environment. The contrast between *Did* 16.7 and Mt 25:31, which alludes more freely to the same text from Zechariah, is instructive in the correspondence between stylistic and argumentative purpose. Both Christian documents imitate/quote the style of the OT prophecy rather than its argument, and both writers are solely responsible for their recreations of the divine voice.

Quotations in the *Didache* do not differ from its “non-quotations” and its many possible allusions (which reflect traditions of whatever provenance) in the relative degree of verbal precision or in the explicit acknowledgement of a source text. A probable difference (in sociolinguistic terms, a salient attribute of all the quotations) might be the expectation of the author that the reader will recognize the quoted language and its dominical authority. Certainly, the “quotations” are linguistically marked, in the *Didache* more than in most books, by a consistent style of citation and (sociolinguistically) by an elevation of the normative stakes which are associated with cultic group identity (RO sets).

Any attempt to read the *Didache* for its stylistic markedness must notice the formulaic gospel “non-quotations” (*Did* 8.2; 11.3; 15.3, 4), the self-allusions within the text (7.1; 11.1), the (tautological?) references to giving κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν (according to the commandment, 1.5; 13.5–7), and the discussion of formally human, but materially divine, speech (λαλέω versus λέγω, 4.1). Many possible allusions to synoptic texts/tradition are also strongly marked in terms of textual linguistics, as for example, those in the stylistically and argumentatively complex *sectio evangelica* (1.3b–2.1).⁵⁷ Such “marking” demands a prior (perhaps sometimes complementary) explanation for many of the textual phenomena over which redaction critics and tradition historians fight. Thus, the syntactically marked “rhetorical” questions about “out-group” love in the *Didache* (1.3c–d) and “in-group” sharing (4.8) require explanation in sociolinguistic terms of the negotiation of changed RO sets. Regardless of whether the *Didache* knew Luke, the two questions in *Did* 1.3 are inadequately explained as a passive imprint of the single question in Lk 6:32 in which the *Didache* “fails to see [the] significance” of the Lukan figure.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Layton (1968), pp. 349–69; M. Mees, “Die Bedeutung der Sentenzen und ihrer *auxesis* für die Formung der Jesusworte nach *Didache* 1,3b–2,1,” *VetChr* 8 (1971), pp. 55–76.

⁵⁸ See n. 8 above.

In its quotations and allusions, the *Didache* treats its OT and synoptic traditions much alike, an appearance which may favor a literary-traditional hypothesis for the "synopticisms" in the *Didache* or which may suggest rather that the reception of OT tradition is itself more like the reception of oral tradition than it is like the literary use which the *Didache* makes of the Two Ways. Certainly, the quotations and less well-marked allusions in the *Didache* to materials which are reminiscent of the OT or of the synoptics are in stylistic contrast to the marked "non-quotations" of "the commandment" (to give?) and "the gospel" which appear in the text.

Especially if Tuckett is right that the *Didache* "presupposes the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke" and that "this result seems to apply to all parts of [the] *Didache* examined,"⁵⁹ then "the gospel" in which the readers of the *Didache* have "in-group" RO sets (*Did* 15.3, 4) is neither of these books. Nor indeed is the use of "the gospel" in the *Didache* much like "the gospel" which appears in synoptic, Pauline, or Ignatian⁶⁰ literature. The single exception is the parallel in Paul's topically-, traditionally-, and rhetorically-related, allusive "non-assertion" of traditional apostolic rights "in the gospel" (so 1 Cor 9:14, 18; cf. 1 Tim 5:18; *Did* 13.1, 2; Mt 10:10//Lk 10:7). Whether the projected readership of the *Didache* or the Didachist(s) themselves had read Matthew and/or Luke, the "non-quotations" of "the gospel" within the *Didache* do not reflect an ignorance but an independence and a different pragmatic, rhetorical purpose for writing.

VI. Conclusion

Style is not something of which a text or author or corpus has one. Rather, style is a dynamic function of extra- and infra-textual variables, including educational institutions and traditions (e.g., the progymnasmatic curriculum), language contact, social conflict among and within groups, an author's *ethos* and *pathos* in relation to projected readerships, and the wide (but not infinite) variety of language itself. From this perspective, style is not radically distinct from other aspects of rhetoric, notably argumentation, but makes part of a whole which is intentionally expressive as well as persuasive. Moreover, like

⁵⁹ Tuckett (1989), p. 230.

⁶⁰ See W.R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 201, 210, 234, 242.

argumentation, style is not static—it exists in relation to the communicative process of textual production and reading. Style is therefore stylistic variation, a judicious mixture of repetition, omission, and innovation.

How does this differ from the “formalism” against which Botha warned above? Certainly, stylistic analysis is grounded in particular forms of speech just as much as are the traditional catalogues of redactionally favorite vocabulary or turns of phrase. A proper stylistics that is responsible both to ancient rhetoric and to modern sociolinguistics, however, must see some comparison with related texts as a way to actualize some possibilities of linguistic variation and to verify the fact of stylistic decision-making by authors—no Didachist had to write this way.

But the primary task must be to explain a text as a whole which is intended to effect communication, so that observations about CS, about quotation, “non-quotation,” and allusion, etc. should cohere around the question of “Why did someone write this way?” With regard to the *Didache*, such observations suggest that the development of the style of the text is an essential aspect of its argument toward the renegotiation of an “in-group” identity, rights, and obligations in the face of a disconcerting plurality of personal and traditional authorities. Such a general conclusion recognizes the unavoidable gaps in our knowledge of the *Didache* and its history. One benefit of a more sociolinguistic approach to the early Christian production of texts is that the approach forces us to admit how little we know about the specific social contexts of early Christianity. In linguistic and rhetorical terms, the answer of the redaction critic that the *Didache* speaks thus because Matthew and/or Luke spoke similarly, is at best preliminary and at worst superficial.

II. HISTORY AND TRANSMISSION

THE HEBREW EPIC AND THE *DIDACHE**

JONATHAN REED

University of La Verne, La Verne, California, U.S.A.

I. Introduction

In the century since the discovery of the *Didache*, the way in which the text has made use of the Hebrew Scriptures has received much less attention than its relation to the NT. A primary focus of scholars has been the relationship of the Didachist's traditions to other Jesus traditions, particularly the possible use of Matthew, or the usefulness of the *Didache* for the reconstruction of the authentic sayings of Jesus.¹ In contrast, most commentaries tend simply to list parallels to the Hebrew Scriptures in the notes, or to consider isolated topics *ad hoc*.² There is a good reason to avoid an analysis of the use of Hebrew Scriptures by the *Didache*, of course, and that is the late date of the text of the *Didache* itself.³

The eleventh-century minuscule which contains the full version of the *Didache* that was discovered by Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios in 1873 provides the basic text. Two fourth-century, Greek parchment fragments and a fifth-century, Coptic papyrus provide an occasional collation against the text of Bryennios.⁴ An expanded (and

* A draft of this paper was presented to the New Testament Seminar of The Claremont Graduate School (December 1993). I am particularly indebted to Milton Moreland, who is project assistant for the Bible and Epic Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, for his critical reading and suggestions.

¹ See, e.g., B. Layton, "The Sources, Date and Transmission of *Didache* 1.3b-2.1," *HThR* 61 (1968), pp. 343-83; J.S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16 6-8 and Special Matthean Tradition," *ZNW* 70 (1979), pp. 54-67; C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989).

² See, e.g., J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958); K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989). A brief discussion of the Hebrew Scriptures as a source for the *Didache* is found in A. von Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 68-69.

³ A problem which was first emphasized by E. Peterson, "Ueber einige Probleme der Didache-Ueberlieferung," *RivAC* 27 (1951), pp. 37-68; see also Layton (1968).

⁴ *Did* 1.3, 4; 2.7b; 3.1-2 in Greek is found in B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 15 (London, 1922), no. 1782 (pp. 12-15); *Did* 10.3b-12.2a in Coptic is found in G. Horner, "A New Fragment of the *Didachè* in Coptic," *JThS* 25 (1924), pp. 225-31. The significance of the textual variants is discussed in Audet

unfortunately paraphrased) text of the *Didache* in the *Apostolic Constitutions* can also be consulted.⁵ Because these sources are so few in number, one cannot establish a secure critical text of the *Didache*. Instead, work on the *Didache* must rely upon a single, medieval manuscript, something which would not do for work on any NT text for example, especially not for a study on NT citations from the Hebrew Scriptures. A series of textual interpolations and harmonizations within the transmission of a text during the medieval period is to be expected, especially in sayings which are attributed to Jesus and in citations or allusions to the Hebrew Scriptures.⁶

By examining the *Didache* in terms of its epic, the problem of the text can be substantially alleviated.⁷ By the term “epic” I mean the way in which the community imagines a set of stories or symbols with respect to the past, as well as the community’s imagination of how these stories and symbols relate to the community’s present. By looking at the Didachist’s epic imagination, I am, in the words of Milton Moreland, looking at the Didachist’s “mythmaking and myth assembling on a grand scale.”⁸ An epic approach differs from an examination of specific citations or parallels from the Hebrew Scriptures. A broader set of questions falls under the rubric of epic: the selection of past genres in a text (instruction, legal, apocalyptic); the selection of specific books as sources (law, prophets, writings); either the inclusion or omission of past heroes or figures (Moses, David); the modeling or metamorphosis of past social roles (priests, prophets, king); the creation of social maps from real or imagined places within the tradition (temple, Jerusalem, diaspora); and the continuation or modification of past rituals (sacrifice, prayer, fasting). An epic approach does not assume that there is a normative epic imagination within Judaism or that the *Didache* seeks to modify any alleged normative epic. Rather, an epic approach assumes that within both early Judaism and early Christianity there were various epic imaginations

(1958), pp. 52–78, including the Ethiopic translation of 11.3–13.7 with 8.1–2 added to an Ethiopic church document.

⁵ F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905–1906).

⁶ B.M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 197–98. Audet (1958) illustrates this problem in the *Didache* (pp. 187–210). Thus on text-critical grounds alone the connection between Matthew, the most important gospel in the church, and the *Didache* should be subjected to the utmost scrutiny.

⁷ This use of the term “epic” owes much to the Bible and Epic Project that is directed by Burton Mack at the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, California.

⁸ M. Moreland, “Imagining Epic Imaginations” (Claremont, 1993), p. 3.

in place and in preparation which borrowed stories from Israelite history, passages, or books from the Hebrew traditions, popular folklore, and past social institutions. My own analysis of that epic which appears within the *Didache* will not focus upon a comparison with contemporary Jewish practices, except where the epic imagination of the Didachist is clearly in competition with such practices.

Before I begin this examination of the epic imagination within the *Didache* as it relates to the Hebrew Scriptures, let me first explain briefly how the epic approach may help to alleviate the methodological problem of the text. As Jean-Paul Audet has shown in his commentary, there are a series of textual interpolations and harmonizations within the transmission of the *Didache* which have special influence upon those passages which contain either sayings of Jesus or citations and allusions to the Hebrew Scriptures.⁹ An epic approach places little weight on the discussion of text type (i.e., MT, LXX, conflation, translation), since the *text* itself is not the primary category.¹⁰ Therefore an epic profile is not skewed by the later conflations and harmonizations of biblical passages which may likely have occurred during the transmission of manuscripts over the centuries.

Furthermore, with a focus upon the way in which the text of the *Didache* reflects a community's conceptualization of its epic, the specific layering or stages within the *Didache* need not be explained in detail. In fact, because the *Didache* does not explicitly explain and record its epic, the fact that there are layers which have been combined into a single text increases the vantage points from which the epic can be examined. Although the Didachist makes use of several earlier traditions, an epic approach does not need to *rank* these traditions in chronological order. Rather, the epic approach permits a scholar to focus upon the final product, and concerns itself with how all previous symbols, texts, and traditions are combined into a coherent whole. The specific dates of these older traditions and their relative sequence within church history are not crucial. Rather, what is crucial is the way in which the community views its place within the epic, as well as the way in which it links itself with traditions from the distant and recent past.

⁹ Audet (1958), pp. 187–210.

¹⁰ Hence, e.g., an epic approach is not as concerned with the exact source for a text such as *Did* 1.6, but is concerned rather with the more general observation that the material in question is proverbial or sapiential (rather than legal) in origin.

This approach has an additional advantage in that it avoids some of the more controversial and unsettled problems within *Didache* studies with respect to the relative chronology of the textual layers. Bentley Layton has noted that, in order to determine the sequence of layers within the *Didache*, "Every critic will have to rely upon his own subjective view of the development of Christianity and little else. . . ."¹¹ Through a focus upon the final stage of the *Didache*, which is the stage that combined the earlier traditions, questions with respect to the relative chronology of the layers do not need to be resolved prior to an examination of the epic imagination which lies behind the text.

II. *The Hebrew Epic and the Didache*

The Didachist's epic imagination, specifically the imagination of traditions from the Hebrew Scriptures of the community which lie behind the *Didache*, can best be examined in each of the major sections of the text individually: the Two Ways (chapters 1–6); the ritual prescriptions (chapters 7–10); the so-called "church order" (chapters 11–15); and the apocalyptic warning (chapter 16). Each section represents a distinct concern, and hence permits four different perspectives on the community's epic. Traces from the community's epic which appear within each of the sections reveal a basic coherence of understanding.

The Two Ways (Didache 1–6)

Chapters 1–6 represent an expanded Two Ways tractate, one of the longest in antiquity. From the outset the reader is presented with the motif of the *two ways*, one of life (1.2–5.14) and one of death (6.1–3). The two ways metaphor appears frequently in ancient Mediterranean texts.¹² There are, however, obvious parallels to the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26) and the decalogue (Ex 20:1–17; Dt 5:6–21). Moreover, the presentation of the two ways motif within the *Didache* contains both thematic and stylistic similarities to the Deuteronomistic portions of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as verbal parallels to the Deuteronomistic version of the decalogue (Dt 5:6–21).¹³ The two ways

¹¹ Layton (1968), p. 382.

¹² Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 83–84.

¹³ Audet (1958) notes the compositional similarities between the two ways motif as it used both in the *Didache* and Dt 11:26–30:20 (p. 257).

concept, which most often is expressed in terms of blessings and curses, is at the core of the works of the Deuteronomistic historian. The list of blessings and curses which appears at the conclusion of Moses' speech, and which has the Law as its standard, summarizes the Deuteronomistic outlook (Deuteronomy 26–27).

The Didachist echoes this Deuteronomistic perspective to the extent that the two ways motif in the *Didache* is announced through the wording of Dt 30:15: Ἴδου δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου σου σήμερον τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὸν θάνατον, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν (cf. *Did* 1.1). The book of Jeremiah, which itself is a work that promotes the Deuteronomistic theology, also borrows from Dt 30:15 when it proclaims the two ways motif in words which parallel those of *Did* 1.1: Ἴδου ἐγὼ δέδωκα πρὸ προσώπου ὑμῶν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θανάτου (Jer 21:8).¹⁴ In *Did* 1.2 the Didachist then presents the basis of the Deuteronomistic ethic, the decalogue. The Didachist combines a concept from Dt 6:5, that ἀγαπήσεις τὸν θεόν (you shall love God), with an idea from Lev 19:18, τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν ([also] your neighbor as yourself), and summarizes the two tablets of the decalogue, the first of which is concerned with divinity, and the second with human relations.¹⁵

Did 1.3–2.1, which most often is assumed to be a lengthy redactional addition, expands the Two Ways tractate. This addition provides significant clues to the community's epic. These sayings, which clearly originate from within some Jesus tradition, integrate the words of Jesus into the Law. Yet they do not explicitly "Christianize" the Way of Life. No reference is made to Jesus as the giver of these new commandments, nor is an argument made that the status of Jesus permits a revision of the decalogue. Rather, the sayings are assumed to be a self-evident intensification of the "love of neighbor" command with an intention to include one's enemy. Attached to the end of this addition is the only explicit citation of a written source, a reference to Sir 12:1: Ἰδρωτάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰ χεῖρά σου, μέχρις ἂν γνῶς τίτι δῶς (*Did* 1.6).¹⁶

¹⁴ Jefford (1989) notes that the introductory phrase τάδε λέγει κύριος (thus says the Lord) in Jer 21:8 is itself a reflection of Dt 30:15 (p. 25).

¹⁵ On this combination in early Judaism and Christianity, see W. Rordorf, "Beobachtungen zum Gebrauch des Dekalogs in der vorconstantinischen Kirche," in W. Weinrich (ed.), *The New Testament Age*, vol. 2 (Macon, 1984), pp. 431–42.

¹⁶ P.Wm. Skehan, "*Didache* 1,6 and Sirach 12,1," *Bibl* 44 (1963), pp. 533–36. Layton (1968) makes it clear that this saying is not a medieval gloss, but, in spite of internal contradictions, belongs to the same compositor who added 1.5 (pp. 368–69).

The redactional addition is followed in *Did* 2.2–7 with a list of prohibitions that are consciously styled along the lines of the decalogue. The fact that these prohibitions have been placed after the sayings from the Jesus tradition, with the two segments joined by the transitional term δευτέρα (second, 2.1), implicitly suggests the status of Jesus which is advocated by the Didachist, namely as *lawgiver*. Interspersed between other prohibitions are the final five commandments of the decalogue: Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, . . . οὐ κλέψεις, . . . οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον . . . οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις.¹⁷ *Did* 2.7 concludes the section with a refrain that is similar in content to Lev 19:17 of the Holiness Code.

Didache 3–4 continues to expound upon the Way of Life in a hortatory second person address, periodically offering the address τέκνον μου (my child). Thematic and, at times, even verbal parallels to Deuteronomy, Proverbs, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and Sirach abound within this section.¹⁸ It seems unlikely that the Didachist has relied upon any one of these texts as a *Grundschrift* (foundational document) or model. Rather, what these texts share with the *Didache* at this point is derived through the agency of their genre, that is, ethical instructions which are placed within the context of “sage and pupil.” The only clear citation from the Hebrew Scriptures, or perhaps from a tradition in which Jesus cited the Hebrew Scriptures, is the phrase οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν (the meek will inherit the earth) which appears in *Did* 3.7.¹⁹

The Way of Death, which is found in *Didache* 5, is simply a list of evils and vices that is offered in a brief, staccato style. Once again, prominent at the beginning of the list are the commandments of the

The alleged internal contradictions are not as poignant as are often suggested—the introductory ἀλλά suggests caution.

¹⁷ Of particular note among the additional prohibitions of the *Didache* are οὐ μαγεύσεις (do not practice magic), which is a prohibition in the Holiness Code (Lev 19:26, 31), Dt 18:9–14, and Ex 22:17, and οὐ φαρμακεύσεις (do not use the potions of a sorcerer), which also is present in Ex 22:7 and Dt 18:10. *Did* 3.4 likewise echoes verses from the wisdom literature (see Pr 6:2; 11:13; 13:14; 14:27; 21:6), which thus begins a transition to the more sapiential τέκνον sayings in *Didache* 3–4.

¹⁸ See the commentaries by Audet (1958) and Niederwimmer (1989).

¹⁹ The list of vices, which relies heavily upon Mosaic instructions, includes prohibitions against reading omens (*Did* 3.4; cf. Lev 19:26; Num 23:23), idolatry (*Did* 3.4; cf. Ex 20:4–6), and grumbling (*Did* 3.6; cf. Exodus 15–17; Numbers 14–17—thus to tie grumbling to the blasphemy of the golden calf). The social rules in *Didache* 4 also have parallels to Deuteronomistic passages in particular, such as to remember the word of God (*Did* 4.1; cf. Dt 32:10), to judge righteously (*Did* 4.3; cf. Dt 1:16), and to hate all that is not pleasing to God (*Did* 4.12; cf. Dt 6:17; 12:25–28; 13:19).

second tablet of the decalogue.²⁰ In a plea which echoes Dt 11:28 (καὶ πλανηθῆτε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἧς ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν), *Did* 6.1 concludes the section with a warning that the reader/hearer must not stray from the teaching (πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς).

For an understanding of the role of the Hebrew Scriptures in the epic imagination of the *Didache*, chapters 1–6 are significant because they begin the text with guidance for the individual that is based upon the decalogue. The Mosaic ethical code is framed within a Two Ways structure that is similar, both in theology and style, to that of Deuteronomy. Most significantly, however, is the adaptation of the sayings of Jesus into this ethical code and theology. These sayings are never represented as new, or different, ethical standards. Rather, they are assumed to be in continuity with the Mosaic Law.

The Ritual Prescriptions (Didache 7–10)

The ritual prescriptions for baptism, fasting, prayer, and the eucharist in *Didache* 7–10 are tied to the Two Ways in chapters 1–6 by means of the connecting phrase ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες (having done all of these things beforehand, 7.1). Although there are perhaps echoes of scriptural phrases throughout these materials (e.g., ὕδατι ζῶντι in *Did* 7.1 from Leviticus 14–15, and ὅτι δυνατός εἰ σύ in *Did* 10.4 from Ps 88:9), this section contains few verbal parallels to the Hebrew Scriptures. In contrast to *Didache* 1–6, the only explicit appeal to authority is to the sayings of the κύριος (Lord) Jesus. *Did* 8.2 appeals to what Jesus commanded ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ (in his gospel). *Did* 9.5 turns a former proverb which was spoken by Jesus (Μὴ δότε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσὶ) into a legal prohibition. As the *Didache* shifts from the category of individual, ethical behavior to that of community rituals, Jesus becomes more visible as the source, as the lawgiver.

The prescription for the eucharist that appears in *Didache* 9–10 provides an important insight into the community's epic imagination. The liturgical instructions with respect to what actions should occur both before and after the meal are formally similar to the Jewish prayers of the period.²¹ The prayers over the cup and, thereafter, the bread which are to be offered before the meal combine a variety of epic references. Over the cup one should give thanks ὑπὲρ

²⁰ The tenth commandment is summarized by the term πλεονεξία (covetousness) in *Did* 5.1.

²¹ G. Klein, "Die Gebote der Didache," *ZNW* 9 (1908), pp. 132–46; Audet (1958), pp. 377–98.

τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου (for the holy vine of David your child, 9.2), and over the broken bread one is reminded of τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὄρεων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἓν (the bread which was scattered upon the mountains and was brought together as one, 9.4). Thanks is given for the knowledge that comes through Jesus, but specifically for the knowledge of the ἐκκλησία, or for the true identity of the “church” (9.4). This true identity is tied to the vine, which is an important metaphor in the Hebrew Scriptures and a standard feature of early Jewish iconography.²² In written sources it is used both as a metaphor for the people of Israel in general, and for the Davidic lineage in particular.²³ Through the usage of this terminology, the Didachist’s community proclaims itself to be the remnant of Israel, to be grafted as the inheritors of the Davidic kingdom. The language of “scattering” and “gathering” (διασκορπίζω and συνάγω, 9.4) reinforces the Didachist’s belief that the community of the *Didache* is the remnant of Israel. The term διασκορπίζω is usually used in the Septuagint to describe what God does to all enemies.²⁴ The prophet Ezekiel (Ez 5:2, 10), however, uses the term to describe the diaspora of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, while Zech 13:7–9 uses the term to describe the exile as a scattering of sheep.²⁵ The eucharistic prayer of the *Didache* proclaims, in essence, that what once was scattered as Israel will be gathered together from the corners of the earth as the church. And the spatial focus, or the center of the universe, is the community itself—not Zion, not Jerusalem, not Israel as a place. References to Hebrew Scriptures which focus upon the land, or Jerusalem as a holy city, or the temple as a place for worship are absent in the *Didache*.²⁶

The second prayer that is to be recited after the meal repeats and elaborates much of the first prayer. Jesus is the one through whom

²² For a collection of the use of vine metaphors in the Hebrew Scriptures and early Judaism, see R. Borig, *Der Wahre Weinstock* (München, 1967), pp. 79–128. On the iconography, see R. Halachi, *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (Leiden, 1988).

²³ E.g., note both Ezekiel 15, which uses the vine as a metaphor for all Israel, and Ezekiel 17, which uses the vine as a metaphor for Zedekiah, the last Davidic king in Judah.

²⁴ See, e.g., Ps 17:15 and 143:6.

²⁵ The passage from Zechariah obviously is important for the self-definition of the *Didache*, since one of the few explicit citations that is taken from the Hebrew Scriptures is from Zech 14:5 (*Did* 16.6). Jesus makes reference to both passages (i.e., Zech 13:7–9; 14:5) in the synoptic gospels (see Mk 14:27; Mt 26:30; 24:30).

²⁶ This is true despite the exception of the citation of Ps 37:11 which appears in

the church is given the spiritual food, the food of knowledge, faith, and immortality. An important verse by which to understand the epic imagination of the *Didache* appears at 10.5: μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτήν . . . (Remember, Lord, your church, to deliver it). Jewish prayers of this type utilize a similar phraseology, but contain a prayer for Jerusalem or for the temple, rather than for the church.²⁷ This shift from Israel to the church, from the temple to the community, is clearly expressed in these prayers. What is less clear is the reason for the shift, and the role which is attributed to Jesus in this shift.

The Church Order (Didache 11–15)

The materials of the “church order” are coherently connected, at least redactionally, with the first two sections (i.e., chapters 1–6 and 7–10). *Did* 10.7 declares that prophets, the topic of the “church order,” can call a eucharist whenever they wish. *Did* 11.1 ties the sections together even more closely with the notation that anyone, whether an itinerant prophet or apostle, must teach προειρημένα (what has been said above), in other words, the code of ethics of the Two Ways and the ritual prescriptions that appear in *Didache* 1–10.

While *Didache* 1–6 presents a code of ethics which is in continuity with the Israelite past of the community, and *Didache* 7–10 introduces communal rituals which are appropriate to the resumption of the true Israel, the “church order” in *Didache* 11–15 elucidates the metamorphosis from Israel to the church with a particular focus upon social roles. The church’s apostles and prophets are equated with the prophets of old (11.11), itinerant Christians are equated with the pilgrims of old (12.1), prophets and teachers are equated with the high priests of old (13.4), and the eucharist is equated with the temple sacrifices of old (14.1).

Did 14.1 labels the community’s weekly gathering, specifically its “breaking of bread” or eucharist, as ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν (your sacrifice). In agreement with the classical terminology of the priesthood, individuals are urged ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν (not to defile your sacrifices, 14.2) with strife. The subsequent citation from Mal 1:11–14 (see *Did* 14.3) reinforces the desire for clean sacrifices, and aligns the Didachist with such prophetic books as Isaiah, Amos, and Micah as

Did 3.8, where the addition is *ad hoc* and without any apparent reflection upon the nature of that land which is to be inherited.

²⁷ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 199–200.

well. Of special interest in the Didachist's use of Mal 1:11–14 is the absence of any anti-Jewish rhetoric. This passage was frequently cited within early Christian circles as a means by which to elevate Christianity, that is, as a way to argue that Christ's new sacrifice is superior to the Jewish sacrificial system. Here the Didachist, rather than stand in competition with Judaism, simply cites Malachi in order to urge a clean sacrifice.²⁸

As a continuation of the sacrificial metaphor for the church, the role of high priest is reinterpreted and applied to the offices of prophet and teacher in *Did* 13.3. Apparently this identification is not merely an academic exercise for the Didachist. The identification of the prophets and teachers as priests served to link their roles with the practice of the ἀπαρχή (firstfruits). Prophets and teachers were to be supported by the community, much like the priests of old.²⁹ This appeal is made in legal rhetoric by an elaboration of the details which concern what is due, and by a reinforcement of the appeal through the phrase δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν (give according to the commandment, 13.5, 7).

In some ways the *Didache* conceives of the church as the new temple. The community's gatherings are sacrifices, their officials are priests, and those who come to them from outside are considered as pilgrims who travel to the temple. *Did* 12.1 recites a portion of the pronouncement from Ps 118:26 which was made to pilgrims who arrived in Jerusalem during the second temple period: εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου (blessed is the one who comes in the Lord's name). In this regard *Didache* 11–15 as a whole reveals something of the spatial imagination of the community of the *Didache*. Rather than operate under the view that divinity is centered in Jerusalem or the temple, the Didachist imagines that the spiritual center of the universe lies within the community of the *Didache*, with a progression of Christians and Christmongers, prophets and false prophets, through the midst of that community. The only source of stability is the adherence of the community to its ethical code and self-understanding.

²⁸ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 238–40. For a list of the early Christian usages of Malachi, see K.S. Frank, "Malachi 1,10ff. in der frühen Väterdeutung. Ein Beitrag zu Opferterminologie und Opferverständnis in der alten Kirche," *ThPh* 53 (1978), pp. 70–78.

²⁹ There are noticeable parallels between this passage and Dt 18:3–5. Observe, however, that there are no specific laws which detail the ways that high priests should be supported; see Niederwimmer (1989), p. 232 n. 9.

The specific terminology which is used for social roles within the community has ties to the past. Though apostles now stand alongside of prophets as community leaders, both are compared to the prophets of old. The reliance upon the past paradigm, as well as upon its terminology, is still apparent in the *Didache*. The prophets of today are treated like the prophets of old; the false prophets of today are treated like the false prophets of old. But, as is indicative of the important place of the old terminology within the new epic, the apostle who behaves shamefully is not called a ψευδαπόστολος (false apostle, 2 Cor 11:13), but is still a ψευδοπροφήτης (false prophet, *Did* 11.5), which is a stock phrase of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The "church order" in chapters 11–15 articulates the community's self-perception with respect to concepts which have been borrowed primarily from the Priestly portions of the Hebrew Scriptures: sacrifice, temple, priests, tithes, and commandments. The new social roles of prophet, apostle, and teacher are equated with items from past traditions. And indeed, the continuity between the past and present is emphasized. The cause which necessitates a new epic is, ironically, not addressed. It is implicitly related to Jesus and the gospel. Interspersed among this new understanding of the community are a variety of sayings from the Jesus traditions, for example: "act toward them according to the instruction of the gospel" (11.3); "all sins will be forgiven, but this sin will not be forgiven" (11.7); "the prophet . . . is worthy of his food" (13.1); "reprove one another not in anger but in peace, as you have it in the gospel" (15.3); and "do as you have it in the gospel of your Lord" (15.4). As with the use of the Jesus traditions in the first two sections, the "church order" offers the words of Jesus as guidelines, commandments, or laws.

The Apocalyptic Warning (Didache 16)

The apocalyptic warning in chapter 16 serves as a conclusion for the text of the *Didache*. This warning continues the tendency to combine material from the Jesus tradition and the Hebrew Scriptures which occurs within the previous sections of the *Didache*. Much of the material that is taken from the Hebrew Scriptures seems to have been present already within earlier Jesus traditions.³⁰ Phrases which appear in the apocalyptic materials of Matthew are fused with phrases from Daniel, and the text closes with a fused citation from Zech 14:4 and Dan

³⁰ Kloppenborg (1979), pp. 66–67.

7:13. The apocalyptic warning is closely tied to the Deuteronomistic Two Ways of chapters 1–6 in that it heightens the reader’s fear of the Way of Death. It also refers back to the section on ritual prescriptions (chapters 7–9) through the encouragement of followers to meet frequently (16:2). And the warning in 16:3 about the increase of false prophets in the last days renders the section on “church order” even more urgent. Through an invocation of apocalyptic passages from the Hebrew Scriptures which now serve as the final words of the *Didache*, the Didachist concludes with a glance toward the future as a continuation both of the present and the past. These three periods are determined and coherent—the church stands in line with the Mosaic Law, the Davidic lineage, the priestly system, and the temple cult. The church has the moral purity for which the prophets called, and will end triumphantly with God. Noticeably absent from this section, in contrast to other apocalyptic writings, are specific predictions of destruction, such as the destruction of the temple which appears in the apocalyptic materials of the synoptic gospels or in the Apocalypse of John. Rather, *Didache* 16 is more of an apocalyptic admonition to a moral life. No single, spatial location takes the central position, as opposed to the view of the earliest Christian apocalypses. No mention is made of the temple, nor to its imminent or past destruction. And no mention is made of Jerusalem, old or new. Rather, the apocalyptic warning addresses the community’s behavior. The community is the focal point of the end of history, not a locale.

III. *Summary and Conclusions*

The *Didache* represents, in my estimation, a community that has long since determined its place within its epic imagination. The community of the *Didache* found an important source for its epic imagination within the stories, themes, and passages of the Hebrew Scriptures, and in fact has transferred important items within the tradition to its own epic: past temple sacrifices are now communal meals; officiating priests are now prophets, teachers, and apostles; and the temple is now the church. The community views itself as the true Israel, has grafted itself into the Davidic lineage, and has gathered itself from within the diaspora. The community also has a complete set of ethical guidelines or laws. It has, in short, brought the past

into the present in order to give meaning and justification to its shape and very existence.

In contrast to other early Christian texts, the *Didache* is remarkably calm in its rhetoric. In fact, its selection of themes or stories from the Hebrew Scriptures neglects violent or destructive episodes which were important to other early Jewish and Christian texts, such as the flood, the conquest, or the destruction of Jerusalem. Furthermore, there is no attempt to justify the new epic, or the community's place within its epic. No reasons are articulated as to why a new temple, new priests, and new sacrifices are necessary. The Didachist's temporal axis upon which both the past and present hinge is not explained: is it connected with Jesus? or the destruction of the temple? In contrast, the Sayings Gospel Q argues vigorously that its adherents are prophets and that the temple has become deserted. Matthew links the destruction of the temple to the rejection of Jesus. Luke takes great lengths to prove that Jesus is a prophet and that time changes with his coming. Paul argues vociferously that the church is the new Israel. But the *Didache* simply presents its ethics, rituals, and "church order" in an almost self-evident manner. The single group of competitors, the hypocrites, are chastised in passing for the fact that they fast on the wrong days, with no rationale given.

Moreland has suggested that epic profiles will help us to understand a community's "strategy for political posturing" and its "response to competing religious communities."³¹ If this truly is the case, and I take it to be, then the *Didache* represents a remarkably non-competitive community. This is to say that it no longer, if ever it had, justifies its epic reading and its self-identification as the new Israel. I suggest that this is because the temple is no longer standing and the priests have died. I would assign then a very late date to the *Didache*, for example, well after the first Roman war (C.E. 66–70) to the middle of the second century. I likewise would describe the community as stable and strong, confident in its abilities to discern and remove those who, though they seem to be a minority, should come along with a different teaching.

³¹ Moreland (1993), p. 12.

BAPTISM IN THE *DIDACHE*

NATHAN MITCHELL

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, U.S.A.

I. INTRODUCTION: THE BACKGROUND OF THE *DIDACHE*

This article seeks to explore, and if possible to elucidate, the significance of baptism in *Didache* 7. It is, of course, a task that has been attempted before, notably by André Benoit, Jean-Paul Audet, Arthur Vööbus, and Willy Rordorf.¹ Commentators generally agree that the few sentences which are devoted to the baptismal liturgy in the *Didache* are as notable for what they *omit* as for what they contain. The Pauline theology of the Christian's baptismal death and burial with Christ (Rom 6:1–11) is never mentioned, just as *Didache* 9–10 never links the community meal to a proclamation of Jesus' death (cf. 1 Cor 11:26). Nothing is said about exorcizing the candidates, blessing the waters, or anointing the neophytes before or after the water bath.² Nothing is said about renouncing Satan and adhering to Christ, about professing faith through a series of credal questions ("Do you believe in God?"), or about laying-on hands to communicate the gift of the Spirit. We are not told precisely when³ or by whom the baptism is done. Nor is there ever any connection made between the mandate "to baptize" and the historical life and ministry of Jesus. Nor are any of baptism's "principal theological effects" described (e.g., forgiveness of sins or membership in "the one body"; cf. 1 Cor 12:13). In short, none of the so-called "classic" elements that are regarded

¹ See A. Benoit, *Le baptême chrétien au second siècle* (Paris, 1953), pp. 5–33; J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), pp. 357–67; A. Vööbus, *Liturgical Traditions in the Didache* (Stockholm, 1968); W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 34–36; W. Rordorf, "Le baptême selon la Didachè," in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain, 1972), pp. 499–509.

² The so-called "prayer for the ointment" which is found in the Coptic version of the *Didache* (containing a version of 10.3–12.2a and dating, perhaps, from ca. 400 C.E.) is almost certainly *not* about any baptismal anointing. See S. Gero, "The So-Called Ointment Prayer in the Coptic Version of the Didache: A Re-Evaluation," *HThR* 70 (1977), pp. 67–84.

³ *Did* 14.1 speaks of gathering "on the Lord's Day" to "break bread and give thanks," but does not mention baptism.

as essential for the celebration of Christian baptism in the course of liturgical history are found in *Didache* 7.

The *Didache* thus confronts us with a deceptively simple text that defies easy interpretation. Before launching into an attempt to clarify the comments of the *Didache* on baptism, it will be useful to outline some of the basic assumptions that will be operative in this essay. These assumptions include the following:

The *Didache* is a composite work which shows several levels of redaction. Clayton Jefford has argued that this brief, archaic Christian document evolved in at least three stages:⁴

Stage 1 (whose redactor is often called the "Didachist") is constituted by the emergence of the Two Ways "catechesis" that is found in *Did* 1.1–6.1a. These sections contain sayings which are among the oldest materials in the document, sayings which are focused primarily upon the *Jewish* decalogue and wisdom tradition without any distinctively Christian interests.⁵ The Two Ways format and materials are clearly not the creation of the Didachist. The *logia* which are contained in these portions were derived from several "sayings sources" that already were in existence.⁶ Moreover, *Did* 1.1–6.1a itself shows more than one layer of development. The *earliest* layer (1.1–3a; 2.2–6.1a) reflects the work of a redactor who did not yet know a written version of the Matthean gospel, while the *second* layer (1.3b–2.1) reflects an author who was familiar with a *written* version of that gospel and who clearly wished to "Christianize" what was unquestionably a *Jewish* sayings collection that was used by the original Didachist.⁷

⁴ See C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 19–21. Audet (1958) argued for a composition of the *Didache* in three phases: 1) the material of 1.1–11.2 (omitting 1.3b–2.1), which was produced before the emergence of a written gospel; 2) the material of 11.3–16.8, which was written by the same author who was responsible for the first phase, under the pressure of changing circumstances within the community and with the knowledge of some *written* "proto-gospel"; and 3) later interpolations (e.g., 1.3b–2.1), which were added by a person or persons who did not have access to any gospel as we know it today (pp. 166–86). Audet thus argued for a quite early date with respect to the redactional stages of the *Didache*—ca. 50 to 70 C.E. For a critique of Audet's position, see J.A. Draper, "The Jesus Tradition in the Didache," in D. Wenham (ed.), *Gospel Perspectives*, vol. 5 (Sheffield, 1985), pp. 270–71.

⁵ See Draper (1985), p. 271: "The core of 1–6 is Jewish and pre-Christian (c. 100 BC–50 AD)."

⁶ See Jefford (1989), p. 142. The Didachist probably used a *written* Two Ways source which was also known to *Barnabas* (chapters 18–20). In addition, the Didachist also used the decalogue as a literary and structural framework for 1.1–6.1a.

⁷ See Jefford (1989), p. 135.

Stage 2 is reflected in *Didache* 7–15. The redactor of this stage of the document's development may have added material in two phases. In the first, a liturgical manual which is concerned with baptism and community meal (chapters 7–10) was incorporated; in the second, regulatory material (devoted to matters such as itinerant ministers and migrant Christians, hospitality, compensation, the Sunday assembly, residential leaders, and community conduct; chapters 11–15) was added. This stage reveals more specifically *Christian* emphases and interests than does *Didache* 1–6. It has even been suggested that *Didache* 1–10 (the Two Ways of chapters 1–6 joined to the “liturgical manual” of chapters 7–10, with 11.1–2 added as a “conclusion”) may have circulated for a time as an independent ensemble, a manual which was designed for the teaching and baptism of catechumens. A similarly independent circulation may have characterized 11.3–15.4 (material which is loosely organized around the theme of relationships in the community).⁸ Eventually the liturgical manual (chapters 7–10) and the regulatory material (chapters 11–15), now combined, were joined to the Two Ways section (1–6.1a) to complete the second stage of the development of the *Didache*. At this juncture the community to which the *Didache* belonged appears to have been reevaluating itself in the light of an encroaching (hellenistic) Christianity.⁹

Stage 3 witnessed the addition of the eschatological peroration that is found in *Didache* 16 (as well as, perhaps, the additions in 1.3b–2.1 and 6.1b–3).¹⁰ The exact source of this section, as well as its relation to both the Two Ways of *Did* 1.1–6.1a and to the apocalyptic warnings of *Barnabas* 4, has been disputed. Kurt Niederwimmer has recently suggested that, within the Two Ways source which the Didachist was using, s/he found a *brief* eschatological epilogue which lacked any developed apocalyptic content and resembled, perhaps, the simple statements which are found in *Doct* 6.1, 4–5:¹¹

Et uide, ne quis te ab hac doctrina auocet, et si minus, extra disciplinam doceberis. Haec in consulendo si cottidie feceris, prope eris uiuo deo; quod si non feceris, longe

⁸ See R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (New York, 1965), pp. 63–64. If this is so, Kraft suggests that 8.1–3 was possibly a later addition, 10.7 was an “adjustment” in the light of 11.3–12, and 6.3 was added as another aspect of the “Lord’s yoke.”

⁹ See Jefford (1989), pp. 108–13.

¹⁰ See Jefford (1989), p. 21 n. 60. It is possible, however, that at least portions of *Didache* 16 belong as well to the oldest stratum of our text (pp. 90–92).

¹¹ See K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 247–48.

*eris a ueritate. Haec omnia tibi in animo pone et non deciperis de spe tua, sed per haec sancta certamina peruenies ad coronam.*¹²

And watch out, lest anyone divert you from this teaching, even in the slightest degree—for then you would be taught contrary to the rule [of faith]. But if you take counsel to observe these [teachings] on a daily basis, you will draw near to the living God. If you do not [observe these teachings], you will be far from the truth. Place all these things in your soul, and you will not be deceived in your hope; rather, through these struggles, you will arrive at the crown.

Having arrived at this point, the Didachist abandoned his (or her) source and sought, for understandable literary reasons, a more extended eschatological peroration that could serve as a conclusion to the *whole* work (i.e., the whole *Didache*). From where did this material in *Didache* 16 come? Scholars do not agree. Some have argued for the literary dependence of *Didache* upon Matthew's gospel.¹³ Others have noted influences from Luke's gospel (cf. *Did* 16.1 and Luke 12:35–40).¹⁴ Whether one can make a case for *direct* borrowing from synoptic sources by the third-stage redactor of the *Didache* is debatable. In any event, Jefford is surely correct to note that

there can be little question that one finds here [in *Didache* 16] a typical, early Jewish-Christian tendency to conclude important writings with the promise and threat of an eschatological warning. While these materials at one time may have formed a conclusion to chapters 1–5 (6.1a), their present location probably is the work of a later redactor.¹⁵

Because of their composite, redactional nature, the sections of the *Didache* are obviously not of equal antiquity. Thus *Didache* 1–5 almost surely stems from the period prior to C.E. 80. It may even be as early as C.E. 50–70.¹⁶ On the other hand, *Didache* 7–15 probably stems from the same period that saw the composition of Matthew's gospel (ca. 80–100 C.E.).¹⁷ The liturgical components of this document may thus date back to the last two decades of the first century, even if one argues (as does Robert Kraft) that the *present form* of the

¹² Text in Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 210 (appendix). The English translation is my own.

¹³ Philip Carrington, e.g., describes the *Didache* as “an appendix to Matthew”; see Carrington, *The Early Christian Church*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1957), p. 500.

¹⁴ See Jefford (1989), p. 113.

¹⁵ Jefford (1989), pp. 113–14.

¹⁶ Jefford (1989), p. 145.

¹⁷ Jefford (1989), p. 145.

Didache dates from the mid-second century.¹⁸ More about the date of the *Didache* will surface below in the section about the community which seems to have given rise to the document.

Most scholars have argued that the place of origin for the *Didache* is either Syria-Palestine or Egypt.¹⁹ Some, too, have contended that internal evidence (allusions to itinerant ministry; agricultural-pastoral symbolism; the "firstfruits" of flock and field which are to be given to the community's prophets, 13.3) points to a rural or semi-rural origin, rather than to an urban one.²⁰ Thus, Raymond Brown and John Meier believe that the church order which is reflected by the *Didache* (especially in its patterns of ministry) argues *against* a "cosmopolitan Antioch" as a place of origin. They prefer "a more rural situation," and suggest that the *Didache* may represent a "primitive church order . . . which was preserved in its original form in some churches in Syria for a much longer time than it was preserved at Antioch."²¹ Against this position, however, it can be shown that the *Didache* does, in fact, manifest very close links to the community of

¹⁸ See Kraft (1965), p. 76: "... the *Didache* contains a great deal of material which derives from very early (i.e., first-century and early second-century) forms of (Jewish-) Christianity; but it would be difficult to argue convincingly that the *present form* of the *Didache* is earlier than mid-second century." Niederwimmer (1989) notes that the sources which were used by the Didachist represent a variety of traditions from different regions, though all seem to stem from *within the first century*, perhaps toward the end of that century. A more precise dating is not possible, he contends (p. 78).

¹⁹ Vööbus (1968) argued for Egypt because the bulk of early witnesses to the *Didache* stem from Alexandrian, Coptic, or Ethiopic sources (pp. 13–14). See also Kraft (1965), p. 77. In support of a Syrian provenance, see Audet (1958), pp. 206–10; Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 97.

²⁰ See Kraft (1965), p. 77. See also Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), commenting upon 13.3: "Le passage nous montre que la *Didachè* s'adressait à des communautés rurales . . ." (p. 190). More recent research, however, shows that the agrarian references in the *Didache* would not necessarily exclude an urban ambience for the document. See the discussion in Niederwimmer (1989), p. 80 (esp. n. 79).

²¹ See R.E. Brown and J.P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (New York, 1983), pp. 83–84: "If the final form of the *Didache* is later than Matthew, then it seems impossible to place this final form at Antioch in Syria. In the *Didache* resident bishops and deacons (nothing is said about elders or presbyters) are beginning to replace the itinerant prophets and teachers as instructors in the faith and as liturgical officers. The *Didache* has to urge that the bishops and deacons be respected on a level of equality with the prophets and teachers. Since . . . one has to posit the beginning of the tripartite hierarchy of one bishop, a college of elders, and deacons at Antioch around A.D. 100, the embryonic two-tier hierarchy of the final form of the *Didache* must be placed elsewhere. For all these reasons, it is not advisable to call on the *Didache* to help fill in the picture of the development of the Antiochene church from Barnabas through Matthew to Ignatius."

Antioch,²² and that those arguments which are based upon the emergence of a "tripartite hierarchy" (as in the letters of Ignatius) are not decisive in the determination of the age or origins of *earlier* redactions of the document.²³ It may be beneficial at this point, then, to turn to a discussion of the relationship between the *Didache* and the kind of Christianity which it represents.

II. THE COMMUNITY OF THE DIDACHE

What kind of community originally produced and/or used the *Didache*? Who were its members and what were their religious convictions? Is it possible to reconstruct some of the salient stages of that community's evolution? What do the redactional stages of the *Didache* (as outlined above) tell us about the developing liturgical interests of its community and about the nature of the document itself? Any attempt to answer such questions will be an important first step toward the establishment of a context within which to understand what *Didache* 7 says about baptismal initiation into the community.

Jewish Interests

Even the most casual reading of *Didache* 1-5 reveals a group which has maintained its allegiance to the fundamental tenets of (hellenistic diaspora?) Judaism. The decalogue remains as the axis of "canonical authority" within the community and anchors its ethical beliefs.²⁴ Thus the earliest redactional layer of the *Didache* (chapters 1-5, a reformulation of Two Ways material) reveals a community of Christian Jews who are still living within the ambit of the Torah. They are believers whose relationship to Jesus in no way subverts their religious

²² See Jefford (1989), p. 145.

²³ Even Brown and Meier hedge a bit, admitting that something of a paradox seems to surround the complex relationship between the church at Antioch, Matthew's gospel, the *Didache*, and the letters of Ignatius; see Brown and Meier (1983), p. 84 (last paragraph). Jonathan Draper has critiqued the position of Brown and Meier, noting that the influence of the *Didache* is too early and too widespread for it to have been simply the product of an isolated rural backwater; see Draper, "Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the *Didache* Community," *NovTest* 33 (1991), p. 347.

²⁴ See Jefford (1989), who notes that in the *Didache*, Ex 20:8-17 has been expanded to include typical early Christian concerns (p. 100). The decalogue has thus been *troped* to include prohibitions against such things as sodomy, fornication, magic, infanticide, etc. Still, these Christian "adjustments" leave the decalogue's centrality as a source of moral teaching unchallenged.

identity as Jews. For them, the “yoke of the Torah” has *not* been replaced or relaxed by the “yoke of Jesus.”²⁵ This becomes quite evident when one analyzes the material which was added later²⁶ in *Did* 6.1b–3, which refers to keeping ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ κυρίου (the *whole yoke of the Lord*, 6.2).²⁷ This “whole yoke of the Lord” almost certainly means the Torah, or more accurately, “the Torah as interpreted by the Lord, i.e. by the Christian community under the influence of the Jesus tradition.”²⁸ The implication, then, is that the perfect observance of the Torah (as interpreted according to Christian *halakoth*) is the supreme goal of *every* believer’s life. In other words, the *Didache* suggests that one can attain salvation only by becoming a fully observant Jew.²⁹

Christology

It is thus not surprising that the *Didache* shows little interest in christological development or speculation.³⁰ Indeed, it might be possible to characterize the “people of the *Didache*” as believers who think of themselves first and foremost as *Jews*, and who perhaps do not yet believe *in* Jesus.³¹ George Buchanan uses the term “apostolic christology” to describe such a position:

Jews, like Samaritans, both before and after the time of Christ, believed that Moses was an apostle who mediated between the Israelites and their heavenly Father. According to the rabbis, a man’s apostle or agent was like the man himself, not physically, but legally. The apostle had the power of attorney and could act in behalf of the one who sent him just as authoritatively as the sender himself. With this understanding, the author of Hebrews called Jesus the high priest and apostle of God (Heb. 3.1). . . . Apostolic identity, which belongs to the sphere of prophets and courts, adequately explains Jesus’ identity with God in the NT, and it is quite likely that Jewish-Christians upheld the same belief. The belief in God as

²⁵ See Jefford (1989), pp. 102–103.

²⁶ Possibly at the third stage of redaction; see the discussion on redactional stages of the *Didache* above.

²⁷ See Draper (1991), pp. 360–62.

²⁸ Draper (1991), p. 362. Cf. Jefford (1989), who suggests that the Didachist was anxious to weld the “two yokes” into a single system (p. 102).

²⁹ See Draper (1991), p. 368.

³⁰ See Draper (1991), p. 360.

³¹ See L. Hartman, “Baptism ‘Into the Name of Jesus’ and Early Christology,” *StTh* 28 (1974), p. 44.

Father who had a human agent, and was manifest through the Holy Spirit, was characteristic of Jewish concepts in pre-Christian times.³²

The christological perspective of the *Didache* seems rooted, then, in an understanding of the relationship between Jesus' activity and God's reign (= God's presence, arrival), rather than in speculation about Jesus as a "divine person," one with God in essence or substance.³³ As Lars Hartman has suggested, early Jewish-Christian believers saw in Jesus' activity a signal that God's reign is arriving in words and works. In the struggle of *Jesus* with the evil powers, *God* fights them and makes the divine power known.³⁴ Thus, Jesus' acts of preaching and healing, with their radical challenge to *metanoia*, announce the advent of God's royal reign and the eschatological exercise of God's royal power. The appropriate response is conversion and *faith*, that is, the life-changing recognition that in Jesus' ministry the reign of God over sin and evil can be definitively seen and experienced. Jesus' way of receiving sinners into the reign of God is thus to enact and pronounce a divine *forgiveness*. But this forgiveness did not mean the cancellation of a debt or absolution from some primordial state of human ruin and guilt (an "original sin"). Rather, it meant "to cross the eschatological line," to surrender the "past" for the sake of the "future." These designations were not chronological points on a timeline. Instead they were *eschatological* categories. The *past* was "the reign of sin and Satan, the alienation of people from God, the weight of all that was impenetrable to [God's] gift of self"; the *future* meant the definitive arrival of God's presence among those people who live lives of justice and mercy.³⁵

The christology of the *Didache* thus might be characterized as one whereby believers continue to "preach Jesus' preaching," though they do not make Jesus himself the object of their proclamation.³⁶ In other words, the proclaimer has not yet become the proclaimed.³⁷ It can

³² G.W. Buchanan, "Worship, Feasts and Ceremonies in the Early Jewish-Christian Church," *NTS* 26 (1979-80), pp. 280-81.

³³ Note, e.g., the Christology of the meal prayers in *Didache* 9-10, and see the comments of J.W. Riggs, "From Gracious Table to Sacramental Elements: The Tradition-History of *Didache* 9 and 10," *SecCent* 4 (1984), pp. 95-97.

³⁴ See Hartman (1974), p. 34.

³⁵ See T. Sheehan, *The First Coming* (New York, 1988), p. 66.

³⁶ See Riggs (1984), p. 95. As Riggs notes in his comments upon *Didache* 9 and 10, it is possible to have a "demonstrably *Christian* prayer reenacting the ministry of Jesus . . . without any explicit *Christological* references" (p. 95, emphasis added).

³⁷ On this point I differ from Hartman (1974), pp. 36-37.

perhaps be said that the christology which the *Didache* reflects is not a doctrine but a *way of thinking about* Jesus. Jesus' words and ministry reveal that the eschatological situation (*past* into future; *sin* into faith and forgiveness) has arrived.³⁸ Some (though not all) believers might have felt that this situation was conclusively sealed through God's act of *vindicating* Jesus by "raising him from the dead." Note, however, that the *Didache* never speaks directly of the "resurrection" of Jesus, although 16.6 refers to the general ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν (resurrection of the dead) as one of three certain signs of the end time.

In the case of the *Didache*, therefore, it is more accurate to say that its images and prayers express the "eschatological accreditation" of God's servant³⁹ rather than any christological conviction about Jesus' "resurrection" or "exaltation." The document's interests are not focused so much upon "what happened to Jesus" (his personal fate or destiny beyond death), but upon the continued validity and availability of what he proclaimed—the gracious arrival of God's reign as revealed in Jesus' human life and resulting (for believers) in "life . . . knowledge . . . faith . . . immortality" (the chief motives for the community's *eucharistia*). We shall return to some of these christological concerns later in this essay, when the meaning of baptism "in(to) the name of the Lord" (cf. *Did* 9.5) is discussed.

Who is a Christian?

The christological perspective of the *Didache* had an obvious bearing upon the way that members of its community answered the question: "Who is a Christian?" Later definitions (e.g., Christians are people who hold certain beliefs about *Jesus*) cannot be invoked to interpret a document wherein the proclaimer has not yet become the proclaimed. Instead, we must look for clues by investigating more closely both the *form* (a "community rule" or "church order") of the *Didache* and its *formation* (stages of redaction).

First, let us take a look at *form*. Jonathan Draper has recently argued that both the *Didache* and Matthew's gospel do indeed come from the same community (viz., Antioch).⁴⁰ But he proposes, further, that the two documents represent *not* "divergent trends from a common starting point," but rather, two distinctive *genres* which stand in dia-

³⁸ See *Did* 9.3–4; 10.2.

³⁹ Riggs (1984), p. 96.

⁴⁰ See Draper (1991), p. 355; note the literature which is cited in nn. 29 and 30.

lectual relation to one another.⁴¹ "If both documents emerge from the same community," Draper notes, "one need not see the relationship between them as a one way literary dependence, but as a dialectic in which each influenced the development of the other."⁴² As a *community rule* (or "church order"), the *Didache* was, by its very nature, a document which was open to constant trial-and-error adjustment and revision. But the *gospel* genre (as represented by Matthew) was governed by a more "conservative" and "authoritative" strategy. (It has often been noted how Matthew portrays Jesus as a "new Moses," a *lawgiver* whose words provide the authoritative guide to a life of Torah righteousness.) Ultimately, Draper suggests, Matthew (*gospel*) undermined the need for *Didache* (*community rule*) "by taking up key elements of the community rule into the gospel form. The rule is then subordinated in the community to 'gospel.'"⁴³ In a word, the genre of *gospel* replaced the genre of *community rule*, leaving the latter to survive "on the periphery, but without the authority of Scripture."⁴⁴

Next let us take a look at the question of *formation* (i.e., the way that the various redactional layers in the *Didache* and in Matthew may have interacted with one another).⁴⁵ Here our interest will center upon two passages in the *Didache* which warn against those who teach falsely (6.1; 11.1–2). As Draper has argued, a comparison of *Did* 11.1–2 with a parallel passage in Matthew (5:17–20) suggests that the former represents an earlier stage of the discussion. In the final redaction of Matthew's gospel, questions about the continued validity of the Torah appear to have been resolved, and the process of resolution has taken an explicitly *christological* turn. Thus the gospel reaffirms the Law, but ultimately subordinates its provisions to Jesus' summary of it in the Golden Rule (Mt 7:12). The legal/ethical "righteousness" which is proposed by Matthew is thus interpreted and

⁴¹ See Draper (1991), p. 349.

⁴² Draper (1991), p. 355.

⁴³ Draper (1991), p. 349.

⁴⁴ Draper (1991), p. 355.

⁴⁵ As Draper (1991) observes, "Didache is a 'Q' community, and draws on the same traditions as does Matthew, although it cannot be shown to be dependent on Matthew as we have it. . . . It appears as if this 'Q' material gradually penetrated an existing community rule, especially in the catechetical section of chapters 1–6, where 1.2–6 is clearly an insertion. Chapters 8 and 15 also seem to be a later layer in the tradition, in which 'gospel' gradually comes to replace 'didache.' In particular, 15.4 is subversive of the whole community rule, since it subordinates its teaching to the emerging gospel tradition, which may, perhaps, already be a written document at this stage" (pp. 354–55). For a more detailed analysis of the relationship between "Q" and the *Didache* and Matthew, see Draper (1985), pp. 273–79.

fulfilled on the lips of Jesus, whose words—like the Torah itself—“will not pass away” (Mt 24:35; cf. 5:18). A similar solution is evident in *Did* 1.2, where the Golden Rule is adduced as the *first* principle by which to interpret the Way of Life (with the troped decalogue in the *second* place; see *Did* 2.1).

But there are crucial differences, too. The *Didache* (community rule) shows us *a solution that still is in the process of development* (note the obviously interpolated “Christian amendments” to the Two Ways in 1.3–6). On the other hand, Matthew (gospel) offers a more finished product, a sophisticated theological interpretation of Torah which is rooted in more explicitly christological concerns.⁴⁶ Such “evolved” christological preoccupations are not found in *Did* 11.1–2, even though this passage shows significant christological development over the earlier redactional stage that is represented by the warning in 6.1.⁴⁷

Moreover, Matthew tempers some of the harshness in the *Didache*, a sign that some of the community’s earlier conflicts about Torah righteousness and observance have been resolved. Thus, in the gospel, one who teaches others to break the Torah (Mt 5:19) is “least in the kingdom of heaven,” *but is still reckoned as a member of the community*. The *Didache*, by contrast, insists that one who has στραφείς (turned aside, 11.2) to teach “another doctrine” *must not be received by the community*.⁴⁸ Moreover, while the *Didache* seems to see false *apostles* as the ones who threaten the community, Matthew suggests that the danger comes from false *prophets*. This shift would align the gospel with “the *latest* redaction of *Didache* instructions, where prophets replace apostles as the burning issue in the community.”⁴⁹

Who, then, is a Christian? Both Matthew and the *Didache* would probably have agreed that true believers are those who observe the *whole* Torah as interpreted by Christian *halakoth*. Probably, too, this teaching about the Torah was an essential element of the catechesis which was given to converts before their baptism: “After rehearsing all these things (*scil.* the material in *Didache* 1–6), baptize in this

⁴⁶ Note how Matthew carefully constructs a catechetical unit in 5:17–20, where the affirmation of the Law is laced with Jesus’ ringing “I-statements”: “I have come . . . I have come . . . I say to you . . . I tell you. . . .” Obviously, Matthew is suggesting that Torah righteousness has been enhanced and fulfilled (hence, superseded?) by Jesus’ authoritative interpretation. See the comments of Draper (1991), p. 358.

⁴⁷ Note that *Did* 11.2 insists that an (apostle) whose teaching fosters “righteousness and knowledge of the Lord” should be received ὡς κύριον (as the Lord), whereas 6.1 simply speaks of the false teacher as one who is παρεκτὸς θεοῦ (without God).

⁴⁸ See the discussion in Draper (1991), p. 357.

⁴⁹ Draper (1991), p. 360.

manner . . ." (7.1). Moreover, in contrast to Paul's brave egalitarianism (Gal 3:28: "There is neither slave nor free, Jew nor Greek . . ."), the *Didache* implies that gentile believers are *second-class* Christians.⁵⁰ True, some sympathy for the (weaker) gentile converts is shown: "If you can bear the whole yoke of the Lord, you will be perfect, but if you cannot, do what you can . . ." (6.2). But even so, these gentiles are expected to observe the minimum requirements of ritual purity if they wish to enjoy table fellowship together with the "perfect" (obviously, Jewish-Christians who keep the whole Torah). And it is quite clear that "the goal of the Christian life was full compliance with the Jewish Torah, under the aegis of the Messiah."⁵¹

In short, baptism, according to the *Didache*, does *not* create a community of equal disciples. Nor does it splice a person into Jesus' death and burial. Nor does it bring the Christian "newness of life" (Rom 6:4). Nor does it unite the believer with "the body (of Christ)." The favorite baptismal motifs and images of Pauline Christianity are absent from the *Didache*. A baptized gentile remains inferior to Torah-observant Jewish-Christians and enjoys only *partial* fellowship with them (though the fact that *baptism*, rather than compliance with the Torah, is the criterion for participation in the Christian eucharist [*Did* 9.5] reveals a community which still is trying to work out a consistent approach to social and religious relations between Jewish and gentile believers). Baptism thus is not a ticket to freedom from the Law. On the contrary, it places the gentile believer under intense pressure to become (eventually, at least) an observant Jew who fully accepts the "whole yoke" of the Torah as interpreted through Christian *halakoth*. This view places the *Didache* in stark opposition to the thought of leaders like Paul. And indeed, it is Draper's suggestion that the "turncoat (στραφείς) apostle" against whom the *Didache* darkly warns (11.2) is none other than Paul himself, a rapacious wolf who threatens to destroy the community from within.⁵²

III. THE SEARCH FOR THE ORIGINS OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM

Our exploration of the historical and theological context of the *Didache* thus suggests a community which is fiercely loyal to the Torah and gravely suspicious of anyone who would advocate its abolition. It is

⁵⁰ Draper (1991), p. 367.

⁵¹ Draper (1991), p. 367.

⁵² See Draper (1991), pp. 371–72.

a community which is more concerned about "preaching what Jesus preached and doing what Jesus did" than about preaching *Jesus*. It is a community where all disciples are *not* equal, and where baptism provides no release from observance of the Torah. It is a community whose developing "rule of life" (the *Didache*) must be studied in close relation to its evolving "gospel" (Matthew). It is a community whose patterns of worship and ministry are still fluid. It is a community where many practical and theological questions (e.g., must one really become a Jew to be a Christian? can gentile-Christian converts sit at table with Jewish-Christians?) remain unresolved. That community, it has been suggested,⁵³ was first-century Antioch.

It is the consensus of most exegetes today that the interracial Christian community of Antioch experienced tumultuous conflicts and pressures (both internal and external) within the first generation of its existence (late 30s to ca. 70 C.E.).⁵⁴ Central among these controversial issues were Torah observance and table fellowship. And central among the players were Paul, Peter, and "the people from James" (see Gal 2:12; cf. Acts 15). While it is not possible here to examine these controversies in detail, some salient factors (which have a bearing upon the way that the *Didache* and its liturgical provisions are interpreted) should be outlined.

Table Fellowship

As James D.G. Dunn has noted, Jewish practice which governed table fellowship with gentiles was not at all uniform during the first century C.E.⁵⁵ There were rather wide-ranging debates among Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes with regard to the acceptable limits of table fellowship. Where Pharisaic influence was strong, for example, there would have been maximum pressure upon devout Jews to observe strict limits in the matter of who ate what with whom, since the Pharisees believed that even outside of the temple the laws which governed ritual cleanness were obligatory, and hence *even the food of an ordinary secular meal must be eaten in a state of purity "as if one were a*

⁵³ With Jefford (1989); Draper (1991); against Vööbus (1968); Kraft (1965); Brown and Meier (1983); et al.

⁵⁴ For a description of these pressures, see Brown and Meier (1983), pp. 32–44; N. Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem* (Sheffield, 1992), pp. 123–44; J.D.G. Dunn, "The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2:11–18)," *JNT* 18 (1983), pp. 3–57.

⁵⁵ See Dunn (1983), pp. 12–25.

temple priest."⁵⁶ The Sadducees, on the other hand, held that the laws of ritual purity were not applicable beyond the precincts of the temple. And the Essenes required a level of ritual purity which was even stricter than that of the Pharisees.⁵⁷ Perhaps most importantly for our purposes here, Pharisaic Jews believed that there were varying *degrees* of ritual purity in the practice of "temple holiness," that these degrees governed even ordinary meals, and hence, that anyone who lived "a stricter level of purity could not eat with one who observed a less strict discipline."⁵⁸

All of this means that any of Jesus' early followers who fell within the orbit of Pharisaic influence would have been intensely concerned about the acceptable limits of table fellowship.⁵⁹ In large and diversified diaspora communities such as first-century Antioch, Jews would have had considerable social contact with uncircumcised gentiles, especially those who were attracted to the Jewish faith and so were considered to be "God-fearers."⁶⁰ There would thus have been a multitude of everyday occasions when the question arose of whether Jews and (God-fearing) gentiles could eat together.⁶¹ As Dunn puts it,

... there was a broad range of attachments to Judaism and Jewish ways wherever Diaspora settlements had made any impact on the surrounding community—from occasional visits to the synagogue, to total commitment apart from circumcision, with such matters as the sabbath and dietary laws being observed in varying degrees in between. *Pari passu* there would be a broad range of social intercourse between faithful Jew and God-fearing Gentile, with strict Jews avoiding table-fellowship as far as possible, and those less scrupulous in matters of tithing and purity willingly extending and accepting invitations to meals where such Gentiles would be present.⁶²

It is perhaps of some significance that precisely such concerns about ritual purity with respect to foods (6.3) surface immediately before the description of baptism begins in *Did* 7.1. This significance is heightened if one accepts Willy Rordorf's position that 6.3–7.1 forms

⁵⁶ See J. Neusner, *From Politics to Piety* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), p. 83, as cited by Dunn (1983), p. 14.

⁵⁷ See 1QS 5–7, in G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Baltimore, 1962), pp. 78–85.

⁵⁸ See Dunn (1983), p. 17.

⁵⁹ See Dunn (1983), p. 17.

⁶⁰ See Dunn (1983), pp. 21–25, on the "God-fearer" in first-century diaspora Judaism.

⁶¹ See 1QS 5–7, in Vermes (1962), pp. 78–85.

⁶² Dunn (1983), p. 23 (emphasis added).

a literary unit. In effect, the *Didache* would be outlining the minimum conditions and limits for acceptable association between Law-abiding Jews and God-fearing gentiles. Indeed, both 6.2 (on the “whole yoke of the Lord”) and 6.3 (on foods) show an acquaintance with *levels* or *degrees* of ritual purity, a characteristic of Pharisaic influence.⁶³ The implication of this section of the *Didache* would thus be that *observant Jewish-Christians should associate only with God-fearing gentile converts who are willing to maintain at least a minimum of ritual purity*. (Even so, there is a further implication that such God-fearing gentile converts *remain* “second-class citizens” within the Christian assembly.) The redactor of the *Didache* would be implying, furthermore, that *some minimum of adherence to Jewish halakoth which govern ritual purity is essential for baptism* which, in turn, is essential for participation in the community meal (see 9.5). In the *Didache* it is not only the tables which are fenced, but the baptismal “pool” is fenced as well! And it is quite possible to argue (upon the basis of the background which was just outlined and the material which is found in *Didache* 6–7) that within the (baptized) community of the *Didache*, stricter members (e.g., Jews of a Pharisaic bent) would have found it impossible to conduct table fellowship either with other *Jews* or with *gentile converts* who observed less strict levels of ritual purity. In the *Didache*, baptism does *not* guarantee “eucharistic unity.”

Torah

It may very well have been that precisely such variation and disagreement about the limits of acceptable table fellowship caused some members of the Antiochene community, like Paul, to reconsider, and ultimately to *redefine*, the relation between Christian believers and Israel. As Dunn suggests, it is quite probable that many gentile believers in Antioch observed “the basic food laws prescribed by the Torah.”⁶⁴ Indeed, Palestinian Jews (like “the people of James”) probably assumed that table fellowship between believing Jews and gentile converts in diaspora communities (like Antioch) involved the maintenance

⁶³ Note how both 6.2 and 6.3 state *first* that one should observe the “*whole yoke of the Lord*” (= Torah)—or (*all*) the food traditions—adding, apparently by way of concession, that if this level of observance is not possible, you should “do the best you can.”

⁶⁴ Dunn (1983), p. 31. See *Did* 6.3.

⁶⁵ See Dunn (1983), p. 35.

of a reasonably high level of ritual purity (even if this level failed to match the more scrupulous observance of the strictest Pharisees). This would explain why Peter (who was less scrupulous than some of his Judean brethren; cf. Acts 10–11), and Barnabas and Paul (who already were accustomed to diaspora ways), saw no problem in joining in the table fellowship of the community at Antioch.⁶⁵ But later (as we learn from the conflicting reports in Acts 15 and Galatians 2), the “people of James” appear to have grown shocked at Antioch’s “carelessness.” They apparently insisted “that the Jewish believers in Antioch conduct themselves with greater discipline and greater loyalty to the Torah, more like their fellow believers in Palestine and with a similar regard for the heritage of Jewish tradition and custom.”⁶⁶ Peter, it seems, succumbed to this pressure, stung, evidently, by the charge of disloyalty. Paul rebuked Peter and insisted, for the first time perhaps, that the principle of “justification by faith” meant “a *redefining* of the relation between the believer and Israel—not an abandoning of that link . . . but . . . a *redefining of how the inheritance of Abraham could embrace Gentiles apart from the law*.”⁶⁷

Paul’s rebuke of Peter (see Gal 2:11–14) may not, however, have been successful. Peter’s position (insofar as we can reconstruct it from the information in Acts and Galatians) may well have carried the day, namely: that there is no inherent conflict between the principle of “justification by faith” and a life which is lived in obedience to the Torah within the covenant of grace; that Jewish believers can maintain a full and unadulterated loyalty to their heritage; and that it is not unjust or unreasonable to expect gentile converts to observe a minimal degree of ritual purity in their social relations with Jews.⁶⁸ Whatever the exact historical details may have been, the upshot of the conflict is clear enough—Paul parted ways with the church at Antioch (for which he had formerly been an apostolic delegate) and became an independent missionary. This interpretation would link well with Draper’s contention that the “turncoat” who is attacked in *Did* 11.2 is none other than *Paul himself*.⁶⁹ And it would suggest that the position of the *Didache* on the Torah and on table fellowship is closer to the “Petrine” one.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See Dunn (1983), p. 36.

⁶⁷ See Dunn (1983), p. 37 (emphasis added).

⁶⁸ See Dunn (1983), pp. 38–39.

⁶⁹ See the discussion above.

⁷⁰ Note, again, *Did* 6.2 and 6.3: “If you can carry the whole yoke of the Lord,

Thus, even though parts of it remain speculative, Dunn's hypothesis about the way that Torah observance and table fellowship evolved at Antioch seems to be confirmed, at many points, by the situation which is implied in the *Didache*.⁷¹ Still, the "victory" of the "Petrine position" (if such it was) can hardly have lasted long. By the 80s C.E., as Brown and Meier note, basically three groups were left in the Antiochene community: gentile converts (in ever-increasing numbers); liberal Jewish-Christians (who may have tried to preserve the ideas of Paul and the hellenists); and the more conservative Jewish-Christians (who may have represented the "Petrine position," insisting on some degree of Torah observance and ritual purity but refusing to break with the church as had the radical, right-wing "hardliners").⁷² This latter group, whose interests are represented by the *Didache* in my opinion, had become a people of "reduced status" by the late first century. Though they once were probably in the majority at Antioch, they had now become a minority. They were too Christian to return to the synagogue and too "mainstream" to follow either the radical left (Pauline/gentile Christianity) or the radical right.⁷³ They were determined to retain their own distinctive traditions, traditions which, on the one hand, affirmed the continued validity of the Torah and, on the other, affirmed the need to teach/live/do as Jesus had taught/lived/done.

The Sources of Christian Baptism

Among these distinctive traditions were *liturgical* ones which were connected with baptism (*Didache* 7) and meals (*Didache* 9–10). We must try, now, to discover what the sources of the baptismal tradition which are represented in the *Didache* may have been. This is not as simple a task as it may seem, for it is evident that in the first century Christian believers did not all agree about either the origins of baptism or its meaning. Jesus' baptism by John, for example, appears to have *embarrassed* many people in the early church (why would *Jesus* need a

you will be perfect; if you cannot, do what you can. Concerning food, keep to the traditions as best you can. . . ."

⁷¹ For critical responses to Dunn's theory, see J.L. Houlden, "A Response to James D.G. Dunn," *JST* 18 (1983), pp. 58–67; D. Cohn-Sherbok, "Some Reflections on James Dunn's: 'The Incident at Antioch (Gal. 2.11–18)'," *JST* 18 (1983), pp. 68–74.

⁷² See Brown and Meier (1983), pp. 50–51.

⁷³ See Brown and Meier (1983), p. 51.

"baptism for the remission of sins?"). Each evangelist, as Max-Alain Chevallier has noted, tried to handle this embarrassment in a distinctive way.⁷⁴ But the deeper question is this: Why, toward the end of the first century C.E., would Christians have found it necessary to *defend* their practice of water baptism by means of "cult etiologies," that is, scenes of Jesus' baptism by John in the Jordan? To what historical pressures were they responding? What sort of crisis forced Christians to reevaluate (and perhaps redefine) their baptismal practices?

1. *John's baptism and Jesus*

It has often been noted that Christian baptism lacks an "institution account" (as a parallel to what we have for the eucharist) in the canonical NT literature. This is to say that there is no reference to an explicit mandate to baptize which is announced by the *earthly* Jesus.⁷⁵ The *Didache* reflects this same situation. *Didache* 7 does not appeal to any teaching of the historical Jesus as a warrant for the community's baptismal practice, even though, significantly, it *does* preface the eucharistic material in chapters 9–10 with a synopsis of the teaching on prayer by the "historical" Jesus.⁷⁶ Matthew (which, as argued above, is related to the *Didache* as "gospel" to "community rule") does develop a subtle cult etiology, however, in the scene which shows the baptism of Jesus by John (Mt 3:13–17).⁷⁷ Matthew's Jesus identifies with the people as one who is obedient to God's will in the search for righteousness (just as, in his acts of table fellowship, Jesus shows solidarity with *sinners*). As Jesus emerges from the water, the heavens open, the Spirit descends upon him, and a voice (= God) acclaims him as "beloved Son" (cf. Is 42:1).⁷⁸ In Matthew's hands, a

⁷⁴ See M.-A. Chevallier, "L'apologie du baptême d'eau du premier siècle: Introduction secondaire de l'étiologie dans les récits du baptême de Jésus," *NTS* 32 (1986), pp. 528–43. Mark shows the least embarrassment; he even includes the references to John's baptism as one aimed at *repentance* and the *remission of sins* (see 1:4). Matthew avoids Mk 1:4 and introduces an apologia for Jesus' behavior (Mt 3:14–15). Luke places the *Spirit* at the center of the scene, and so relegates the actual baptism of Jesus by John to a subordinate clause (see Lk 3:21–22). Finally, John completely suppresses the actual act of Jesus' baptism and instead substitutes John's confessional exclamation, "Behold the Lamb of God!" (see Jn 1:35–36).

⁷⁵ Matthew's concluding scene in 28:16–20 puts the commission to baptize upon the lips of the *risen* Jesus.

⁷⁶ See Jefford (1989), p. 105.

⁷⁷ As Chevallier (1986) notes, this passage is redactional (pp. 533–34).

⁷⁸ Note how Matthew, in chapter 3, establishes the "trinitarian" allusions which will resurface in the commissioning scene of 28:19.

rite which is related to repentance has been reconfigured as a theophany. According to Matthew's redaction of the tradition, then, John's baptism does *not* forgive sins (rather, it is the *blood of Jesus* which forgives; cf. Mt 26:28). The *real* significance of John's rite is that it opened a ὁδὸς δικαιοσύνης (path of righteousness, Mt 21:32) on which even sinners and prostitutes could approach the reign of God.⁷⁹

Such interpretations do not, of course, explain the actual historical relationship between Jesus and John, nor between John's baptism and the Christian rite. There is, in fact, good reason to believe that Jesus' baptism by John was significant for reasons other than those which are put forward by the NT writers, that the whole Jesus movement may have had its roots in the activity of John, and that Christian baptism "had its origin in the baptism performed by John."⁸⁰ Indeed, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor⁸¹ has recently suggested a hypothesis which may be summarized as follows: John began his preaching in the region of Perea, a deliberate prophetic gesture, since this was the region where (according to 2 Kgs 2:4–11) *Elijah* had disappeared. Among John's disciples were Galileans like Andrew of Bethsaida (cf. Jn 1:35, 40). Jesus may have met John while both were on a pilgrimage in Jerusalem. In any case, it seems probable that Jesus became John's disciple, joining him in Perea for a time.⁸² The two men then seem to have embarked upon a coordinated ministry to Jews and Samaritans, with John assuming the more difficult work (in Samaria) while Jesus moved to "easier territory" (Judea). In his earliest days as a public figure, then, Jesus' activity may simply have been "an extension of the ministry of the Baptist."⁸³ From Judea, Jesus moved into Galilee, where he initially continued John's ministry of baptism. It was there that something drastic happened which produced within Jesus a profound conversion and led him to break with John and to redefine his own mission.

⁷⁹ See Chevallier (1986), p. 534.

⁸⁰ See A.Y. Collins, "The Origin of Christian Baptism," *StLit* 19 (1989), p. 28.

⁸¹ See J. Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypotheses," *NTS* 36 (1990), pp. 359–74.

⁸² This would mean, of course, that Jesus' submission to John's baptism was not a charade, that Jesus sincerely embraced John's prophetic-apocalyptic message, with its rejection of exploitation (of the weak by the strong) and its insistence that God would soon judge oppressors who did not repent. See P. Hollenbach, "The Conversion of Jesus: From Jesus the Baptizer to Jesus the Healer," *ANRW* 25 (1982), pp. 199–203.

⁸³ See Murphy-O'Connor (1990), p. 366.

Precisely what this something was is open to debate. But I believe that Paul Hollenbach is on the right track when he notes that Jesus seems suddenly to have abandoned "three very significant religious ritual actions that were central to John's movement," namely, fasting, ritual prayer, and asceticism.⁸⁴ The source of Jesus' radically changed attitude appears to have been his (new) experiences as an exorcist and healer. "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the reign of God has come upon you" (Lk 11:20). As Norman Perrin indicated over a quarter-century ago, this saying of Jesus (almost certainly authentic) marks the appearance of something utterly unparalleled: it relates "the *presence of the Kingdom* to the *present experience of a man*."⁸⁵ In a word, this saying interprets Jesus' exorcisms not only as experiences of the eschatological activity of God (a position that the Qumran community might also have held), but also as *the experience of an individual*. "The individual, rather than . . . the people as a whole, has become the focal point of the eschatological activity of God. . . . This concentration upon the individual and his experience is a striking feature of the teaching of Jesus, historically considered, and full justice must be done to it in any interpretation of that teaching."⁸⁶

The upshot of Jesus' conversion (based upon the experience of his first exorcisms) was his "apostasy" from the baptist faith and his abandonment of the religious practice of ritual prayer, fasting, asceticism, and baptism. As Hollenbach summarizes, Jesus' new reasoning must have gone something like this:

. . . Why continue to baptize powerful people for repentance so they can escape God's wrath, when the sick are being visited directly with God's mercy without it? . . . Why look any longer for someone to purify the repentant . . . when people already now know the restoring and compelling power of God's love? Why fast and pray when people are no longer anticipating a final purification, but are already enjoying a gracious restoration of life?

. . . Jesus focuses now . . . wholly on the present and all interest in the future is beside the point. Jesus does not any longer look for any kind of

⁸⁴ See Hollenbach (1982), p. 209; see the NT texts which are cited and discussed (pp. 207–209).

⁸⁵ See N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1967), p. 64 (emphasis added).

⁸⁶ Perrin (1967), p. 67. Hollenbach (1982) notes and analyzes six additional NT texts which also point toward the same direction of dramatic change in Jesus' activity (pp. 211–16).

messianic figure, for God himself is visiting and redeeming his people. And Jesus no longer seeks God in and through either performing religious ritual or calling upon the mighty to perform deeds of justice, for he has found God and his love in events in which the destitute, despised and despairing are restored to human society.⁸⁷

It was not so much that Jesus disagreed with John over any particular theological "principle." It was simply that John's religious practices and message had become irrelevant.

2. *The persistence of baptism*

And yet, in spite of Jesus' apparent repudiation of (John's) ritual, Christians appear to have known and practiced baptism from earliest times. Within perhaps five years of Jesus' death, for example, Paul underwent a baptism which seems *not* to have been that of John.⁸⁸ This means that within a short time after Jesus' death, there *were* Christian believers who performed baptism upon converts (and that one such convert, Paul, eventually interpreted this rite *christologically*). On the other hand, there are NT texts (like Acts 19:1–10) which seem to speak of Christians (in the 50s C.E.) who were familiar with no baptism beyond that of John. There may even have been prominent missionaries who knew only of John's baptism (see Acts 18:24–28).⁸⁹ One must probably admit, then, that neither the practice of baptism nor its interpretation was uniform in first-century Christianity.

Does all of this mean that no continuity can be established to link the baptism of John, the ministry of the "converted" Jesus, and the (diverse) practices of first-century Christians? Some scholars have sought such links in practices like proselyte baptism or the ritual ablutions of the Qumran sectarians. But neither of these Jewish "parallels" can be proven to have been adopted by Christians.⁹⁰ A more plausible demonstration of continuity in the evolution of Christian baptism

⁸⁷ Hollenbach (1982), pp. 216, 217.

⁸⁸ See L. Hartman, *Auf den Namen des Herrn Jesus* (Stuttgart, 1992), p. 32. Note the reference to Paul's baptism in Acts 9:18.

⁸⁹ One must allow, of course, that Luke may have invented such stories precisely to avoid the suggestion of any rivalry between John's disciples and those of Jesus, and in order to demonstrate a *Heilsgeschichtliche* (history of salvation) continuity between the activity of John and that of Jesus; see Hartman (1992), p. 33.

⁹⁰ Perhaps the classic formulation of the "proselyte baptism" hypothesis as it relates, particularly, to the rite of *Didache* 7, is that of Benoit (1953), pp. 5–33. But there are problems if one attempts to date the emergence of proselyte baptism before

can be had by a close re-examination of the relationship between John's baptism and the emergent ecclesial rite.⁹¹ Lars Hartman has suggested that in order to understand the continuity which stretches from John through Jesus' ministry into early Christian baptismal practice, one must understand the connections between *resurrection*, *eschatology*, and *baptism*.⁹² Among Palestinian Jews of Jesus' time there was a rather widespread conviction that at the end time the dead would rise. An echo of this belief can be heard in the eschatological peroration of the *Didache*: "Then the signs of truth will appear: first, the sign stretched out in heaven (cf. Mt 24:30); then, the sign of the trumpet's sound (cf. Mt 24:31); and *thirdly, the resurrection of the dead* (cf. 1 Cor 15:52) . . ." (*Did* 16.6). To say that "Jesus has been raised" was thus not to declare some fact about the fate of Jesus' body/person, but rather, to affirm the conclusion that *the new eschatological era has definitively arrived*. Believers are thereby challenged to join themselves, with their "risen" Lord, to this end-time. Resurrection thus signified the dawning of the new age, the arrival of the eschatological era, with its promise of an utterly new relationship between God and humanity (one which is based upon the experience of "forgiveness").⁹³

It is in this sense that one can speak, as Hartman does, of primitive Christian baptism as *eine christianisierte Johannestaufe* (a "Christianized" Johannine baptism).⁹⁴ It is the *eschatological horizon* which links John, Jesus, and the Christian rite.⁹⁵ Of course, Christians did not simply repeat John's baptism. They altered its eschatological significance, exchanging John's emphasis upon repentance/forgiveness/God's wrathful judgment for Jesus' insistence upon God's compassionate presence as already arriving in the human world. Johannine "forgiveness" suggested the cancellation of sins/debts, but Jesus' forgiveness

the end of the first or beginning of the second century; see Collins (1989), p. 35. The possible influence of Qumran practice has been urged, e.g., by B.E. Thiering, "Qumran Initiation and New Testament Baptism," *NTS* 27 (1980-81), pp. 615-31. But see Collins (1989), p. 31: "The ablutions at Qumran . . . did not include an initiatory baptism. Rather, they were Levitical washings related to ritual purity."

⁹¹ One such re-examination is found in Collins (1989), pp. 37-42. But another, and in my opinion more convincing, assessment is offered by Hartman (1992), pp. 32-38.

⁹² See Hartman (1989), p. 36.

⁹³ See Hartman (1992), pp. 36-37.

⁹⁴ Hartman (1992), p. 38.

⁹⁵ Note that "eschatological" here means the full, final, and definitive *arrival* of something, not idle speculation about some dimly distant, apocalyptic future.

implied (as Thomas Sheehan has noted) “not the canceling of an ontological debt, the undoing of some mythical sin,” but *God’s own self-bestowal*.⁹⁶ What is “given” in forgiveness, according to Jesus, is nothing less than God’s superabundant gift of self, God’s self-communicating incarnation.⁹⁷ Even in those “problem passages” of the NT (e.g., Acts 2; 18; 19), then, believers were not simply repeating John’s baptism unaltered. They were *Christianizing* it. Baptism now became a ritual event which was done “*in(to) the name of Jesus*,” that is, *a uniting of the believer to the eschatological reality which was manifested by and experienced in Jesus’ words and works (and confirmed by Jesus’ “resurrection”)*. In this sense, early Christian baptism did not always or necessarily *have* to have a *christological* content (of the soteriological sort which is implied by Paul in Romans 6). It simply needed to have an *eschatological* content. Thus, though Jesus himself may well have abandoned baptism as part of his ministry, Christians reappropriated it as a ritual means by which to link themselves, not so much to *Jesus* but, to *what Jesus was for and about*, namely, the proclamation of God’s gracious and definitive arrival in the tumultuous textures of “secular” life, in “events in which the destitute, despised and despairing are restored to human society.”⁹⁸ This is, I would argue, the situation in *Didache* 7. We have here not a “christologically shaped” baptism, but an eschatological one which is closely related (ritually) to *John’s* baptism, while infused with the radical proclamation by Jesus concerning the nearness of God’s reign.⁹⁹

IV. THE BAPTISMAL LITURGY IN THE DIDACHE

We are now in a position to offer a brief commentary on the liturgy of baptism which is found in the *Didache*. Because it is so short, the

⁹⁶ See Sheehan (1988), p. 66.

⁹⁷ See Sheehan (1988), p. 66.

⁹⁸ Hollenbach (1982), p. 217.

⁹⁹ This interpretation also helps to explain why first-century Christians found themselves in a position to defend the practice of baptism (see the discussion above). It was, after all, a rite which apparently was abandoned by Jesus himself. Moreover, it became necessary for Christians to explain how and why their own baptismal ritual differed from that of John. I have suggested here that they did not base their interpretation so much upon a cult etiology which traced the origins of baptism back to a mandate of the *earthly* Jesus, but upon a distinctive, eschatological perspective. Hence, Matthew could root the command/mission to baptize only in a saying of the *risen* Jesus, precisely because *resurrection* signaled the definitive arrival of the eschatological era to which *Christian* baptism pointed.

entire text of *Didache* 7 can be presented here. That will permit us to identify its principal sections, as well as its redactional elements.¹⁰⁰

On Baptism

- 7.1a *Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε·*
 [1b *ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε]*¹⁰¹
 1c *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος*
ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι.

[Concessions

- 7.2 *Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν, εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον;*
εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ.
 7.3 *Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέρα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρίς*
*ὕδωρ εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.]*¹⁰²

Prebaptismal Fasting

- 7.4a *Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος προνηστευσάτω*
ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι δύναται;
 [7.4b *κελεύεις δὲ νηστεύσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.]*¹⁰³

As the typography indicates, I suggest that at the earliest stage of redaction, the instructions in the *Didache* about the baptismal “liturgy” were brief indeed. They comprised 7.1a + 7.1c + 7.4a:¹⁰⁴

- 7.1a Concerning baptism, baptize in this manner:
 7.1c In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in running (lit., living) water.
 7.4a And before the baptism,
 both the one who is baptizing and the one who is being baptized should fast, along with any others who can.

¹⁰⁰ Materials which appear in **boldface** are section titles which are added by me; *italicized* materials in brackets indicate a later redaction of the text. The critical text is that of Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), pp. 170–72.

¹⁰¹ For the redactional character of this line, see Niederwimmer (1989), p. 159.

¹⁰² For the redactional character of these lines, see Niederwimmer (1989), p. 164.

¹⁰³ For the redactional character of this line, see Niederwimmer (1989), p. 164.

¹⁰⁴ Concerning the literary unity of *Didache* 7, see Rordorf (1972), pp. 499–503. Rordorf feels, as does Kraft (1965), pp. 161–63, that *Did* 6.3 and 7.1 form a literary unit, in part because of their parallel construction (*περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως . . . περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος . . .*). He suggests, further, that 6.3 may originally have been in the second person *plural* form, as is 7.1, and as is the parallel to 6.3 in *Const* 7.21. Rordorf also proposes (p. 501) that *Didache* 9–10, where the *περὶ δὲ* construction also appears (see 9.1, 2, 3), may have belonged to the same literary unit with 6.3–7.1. He concludes with the suggestion that the early redactor of the *Didache* may have conflated two literary sources: the Two Ways source which is represented in chapters 1–6, on the one hand, and the liturgical portions which are introduced by the *περὶ δὲ* construction, on the other. A later redactor would then have added the

A Specific Minister of Baptism?

To whom are these instructions being given? Who is the “you” which is implied in the imperative (plural) of 7.1a? Are specific “ministers of baptism” envisaged—the “apostles and prophets” of chapter 11, perhaps, or the “bishops and deacons” of chapter 15? Rordorf suggests that *Did* 7.1 presupposes a situation where each believer is thought to have the power to baptize (and not merely in cases of “necessity”).¹⁰⁵ In this matter, as often in the *Didache*, we know much more about what the document *does not* say than about what it does. Here we know that the *Didache* does *not* mention the restriction which is found in the letters of Ignatius: Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστὶν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν (It is unlawful either to baptize or to hold an *agape* without the bishop).¹⁰⁶

Pre-baptismal Catechesis

There can be little doubt, in the opinion of most contemporary scholars, that the materials of *Did* 1.1–6.1a should be understood as instructions which are designed primarily for catechumens.¹⁰⁷ The very structure of the Two Ways schema in 1.1–6.1a invites decision. The reader/hearer must decide whether to become a Christian. And (as was suggested in section III above) there is a further implication as well, since the choice to become a Christian (and thus to assume

“concessions” which are found in 6.3a and 7.2–3. My reconstruction here follows Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 159–64. Audet’s edition (1958) brackets everything from 7.2 through 7.4, and assigns 7.1b to the critical apparatus as a variant which is found in the Jerusalem and Georgian manuscripts (p. 232). Thus Audet sees the “concessions” and “pre-baptismal fasting” sections as additions which were contributed by the “Interpolator,” a contemporary to the author of the *Didache*.

¹⁰⁵ See Rordorf (1972), p. 502. Note that in the NT itself, baptism does not appear to be an action which is restricted to a specific class of “ministers,” e.g., apostles or evangelists. Thus, Acts portrays the *apostle* Peter as one who directs that converts be baptized, though it does not claim that Peter himself did the baptizing (cf. Acts 10:48). Similarly, Paul (1 Cor 1:16) admits to having baptized some converts, but there is a clear implication that he had no monopoly on such a “ministry.”

¹⁰⁶ Ign *Sm* 8.2; text in P.Th. Camelot, *Ignace d’Antioche/Polycarpe de Smyrne: Lettres/Martyre de Polycarpe* (Paris, 1951), p. 162. One might note that even the text of Ignatius does not say “the bishop *alone* may baptize.” It merely says that baptism should not be done χωρὶς (apart from) the bishop. This would not necessarily exclude the possibility that some other Christian, someone who was acting with the bishop’s approval, might actually baptize.

¹⁰⁷ See Niederwimmer (1989), p. 88; Draper (1991), p. 359; Rordorf (1972), p. 503. The use of the word “catechumens” here is somewhat anachronistic, since a *formalized* catechumenal institution of the kind which we see in Hippolytus (ca. 215 C.E.), e.g., was not yet known during the period that produced the *Didache*.

baptism) means to choose an *eschatological existence*—where “the Way of Life” means “to live as Jesus did” (see the Christian interpolations of 1.3b–2.1), “the Way of Death” means judgment and ultimate destruction (see *Didache* 5). Niederwimmer argues that the redactional phrase in 7.1b is precisely an attempt to link the liturgical tradition concerning baptism with the Two Ways catechesis (in much the way that the redactional material in 1.3b–2.1 offers a “Christian amendment” to a basically Jewish Two Ways source).¹⁰⁸

Preparatory Fast

In the matter of fasting, *Did* 7.4a (cf. 8.1) reappropriates another practice which Jesus seems to have repudiated.¹⁰⁹ Two levels of prebaptismal fasting are distinguished in our text: the candidate and the “baptizer” *must* fast; others in the community *may* fast. The significance of this “liturgical fast” is primarily purificatory.¹¹⁰ The candidate seeks to be cleansed from past sins, while the baptizer (and others) support the neophyte by their “vicarious” participation (through fasting) in the effort to put past vices to rest.¹¹¹ The specification in 7.4b (“Take care that the one being baptized fasts one or two days beforehand”) appears to be a redactional amendment which was added later to 7.4a.¹¹²

The Water

The ὕδωρ ζῶν (living water) which is preferred for baptism in *Did* 7.1c is a Hebraism for fresh, flowing water which has been taken from a spring (rather than water which is collected in a cistern).

¹⁰⁸ See Niederwimmer (1989), p. 159.

¹⁰⁹ See Mk 2:19a and the comments of Hollenbach (1982), pp. 211–12. Note the difference between Hollenbach’s position and Perrin’s (1967) “generalized” interpretation of Jesus’ anti-fasting logion (pp. 79–80). It is important to note that *some* early Christian writings do, in fact, appear to reject the legalistic ritualism which assigns fasting to particular days or occasions; see *Barn* 3.1–5; Kraft (1965), pp. 86–87, and Kraft’s comment on p. 164 (note on *Did* 7.1–8.3).

¹¹⁰ This is the sense of the pre-baptismal fast which appears in Justin (*1Apol* 61.2) as well: “Those who are convinced and believe that what we say and teach is the truth, and pledge themselves to be able to live accordingly, are taught in prayer and fasting to ask God to forgive their past sins, while we pray and fast with them” (translation from P. Palmer, *Sacraments and Worship* [London, 1957], p. 4).

¹¹¹ See Niederwimmer (1989), p. 164.

¹¹² See the discussion in Niederwimmer (1989), p. 164; cf. Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), pp. 35–36.

Such "living water" is also envisioned by the levitical prescriptions for ritual purification (see, e.g., Lev 14:5ff.; 14:50ff.; 15:13).¹¹³ This kind of thought demonstrates once again the "Jewishness" of many concerns which arise in the *Didache*. A little more than a century later, however, a triumphant *gentile* Christianity would reject all such considerations. Thus Tertullian observes in *DeBapt* 4.3: *Ideoque nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alueo diluantur* (And so there is no difference whether a person be washed in a sea or a pool, a stream or a fountain, a lake or a trough).¹¹⁴ In *Did* 7.1c, then, the Jewish-Christian interest in ritual purity (linked to Torah observance) is still paramount, as it is in 6.2–3 (food laws and ritual purity at table). A later redactor, however, has modified this Jewish traditionalism by the provision (in 7.2) of two alternative options for water to use in Christian baptism: 1) ὕδωρ ψυχρόν (cold water; a probable reference to water from a *natural* source, such as a spring or a stream, at its *natural* temperature);¹¹⁵ and 2) ὕδωρ θερμόν (warm water; a probable reference to water which has lost its natural temperature after standing in a cistern for a time). A final redactional concession (in 7.3) further "liberalizes" the baptismal rite of the *Didache* by permitting "affusion," or the pouring of water (three times) over the candidate's head (to match, perhaps, the three-part formula which is repeated here from 7.1c, with the omission of the usual articles before the Greek nouns).

The Baptismal Formula

As Rordorf has noted, there are actually three variant baptismal formulas to be found in the *Didache*:¹¹⁶

- 7.1c εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος
 7.3 εἰς ὄνομα πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος¹¹⁷
 9.5 εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου

¹¹³ As Vööbus (1968) notes, some have been led by this similarity between the "living water" of 7.1c and Leviticus to argue that the discussion in *Didache* 7 is not only about baptism but also about (Christian) rites of purification (pp. 29–30). But there is really no proof for this. Niederwimmer (1989) notes, however, that in the *Didache* the classification of "types of water" from "best" to "less good" reflects the system of classifications which is found in rabbinic tradition (p. 163).

¹¹⁴ Text in *CChr (Series Latina)* 1.280.

¹¹⁵ See Niederwimmer (1989), p. 162; cf. Vööbus (1968), p. 24.

¹¹⁶ See Rordorf (1972), p. 504.

¹¹⁷ This line is redactional. There are no articles before the Greek nouns in this formula.

It is Rordorf's opinion, further, that the text of 9.5 is "sans aucun doute . . . la plus ancienne formule baptismale."¹¹⁸ This would mean that the trinitarian version(s) of 7.1c and 7.3 (cf. Mt 28:19) are later, or perhaps, that 9.5 represents "Jewish-Christian usage," while the longer form of 7.1c/7.3 reflects the practice of the hellenistic-gentile mission. Niederwimmer, however, regards such speculation as questionable. He notes that the two formulas appear to be used in the *Didache* indiscriminately.¹¹⁹

Do either, or both, of these formulas tell us anything about the christology or "trinitarian theology" of the *Didache*? Hartman has argued that the formula "into the name (of Jesus, or of the Lord)" may originally have been "a definition, a phrase which mentioned the fundamental reference of Christian baptism which distinguished it from other rites," a formula which "delimited Christian baptism from that of John."¹²⁰ In Hartman's view, however, this does not mean that the formula was primarily a negative demarcation which lacked a christological content. On the contrary, he asserts that "as soon as baptism was performed 'into the name of Jesus,' it must have been combined with a message, and this message not only continued . . . Jesus' own preaching . . . but . . . was also preached 'with reference to Jesus,' which implies some sort of Christology too."¹²¹ Against Hartman's view, however, I would note that neither the "short formula" of *Did* 9.5 nor the "trinitarian formula" of 7.1c and 7.2 requires a christology of the later, "high" variety (where Jesus is identified in essence or substance with God). Indeed, as Buchanan has observed:

The belief in God as Father who had a human agent, and was manifest through the Holy Spirit, was characteristic of Jewish concepts in pre-Christian times. Jewish-Christians, who believed that they differed from other Jews only in accepting Jesus as the Messiah or apostle of God, baptized in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. They were apostolic trinitarians.¹²²

It is my argument, then, that neither formula in the *Didache* can be taken, without qualification, as evidence for a deliberate, distinctive christological content in the baptismal rite. The "trinitarian formula"

¹¹⁸ See Rordorf (1972), p. 504.

¹¹⁹ See Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 160–61.

¹²⁰ See L. Hartman, "Into the Name of Jesus," *NTS* 20 (1974), p. 440.

¹²¹ See Hartman (1974), p. 36.

¹²² See Buchanan (1979–80), p. 281. Also see the related discussion above.

does assume christological implications, however, when it is placed in the context of Matthew's gospel (where Mt 28:19 exactly matches the wording of *Did* 7.1c). As Jack Dean Kingsbury has noted, Matthew seems to adopt a "Son-of-God" christology ("Jesus is the Son of God in the sense that in his person God dwells with his people").¹²³ He does this in order to achieve two objectives: 1) to link all of the major phases of Jesus' life (birth through death and resurrection) and thus to show that Jesus of Nazareth is the *same person* as the "risen Jesus" of the post-Easter church; and 2) to demonstrate that the relationship of Jesus to God is unique (it is *God* who gives [the earthly] Jesus the title "Son of God" [cf. Mt 3:17] and it is *God* who raises Jesus to life).¹²⁴ For Matthew, Jesus the crucified Messiah is also "the resurrected and exalted Son of God."¹²⁵ But the *Didache*, in my view, is unwilling to go quite this far. For the Didachist, Jesus is above all $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (child of God; cf. 9.2 bis; 9.3; 10.1, 3). Jesus' "sonship" (in 7.1c/7.3) is thus not a divine, christological credential, but simply an affirmation that Jesus is God's "accredited apostle."

An Anointing Prayer?

One final question remains. The Coptic version of the *Didache* includes (after the meal prayer in chapter 10) a brief prayer which some have interpreted as a reference to baptismal anointing. Here is the text in question, as it is translated by Stephen Gero:

Concerning the matter of the *stinoufi* give thanks thus, as you say: We give thanks to you, Father, concerning the *stinoufi* which you made known to us through Jesus, your child. Yours is the glory which is for ever. Amen.¹²⁶

As Gero notes, the exegesis of this passage depends in large part upon the interpretation of the Coptic word *stinoufi*. Because texts which are later than the *Didache* (e.g., *Const* 7.27) interpreted the prayer in terms of *myron* (a fragrant oil which was used in baptism), many commentators have assumed that *stinoufi* should be translated by the word "ointment." But as Gero convincingly demonstrates, in my view,

¹²³ See J.D. Kingsbury, "The Composition and Christology of Matt 28:16–20," *JBL* 93 (1974), p. 582.

¹²⁴ See Kingsbury (1974), p. 583.

¹²⁵ See Kingsbury (1974), p. 584.

¹²⁶ Gero (1977), p. 68.

this is unlikely. The *stinoufi* is not oil, but *incense*, “and the text is a prayer over incense burned at the solemn communal meal described in *Didache* 9 and 10.”¹²⁷ Indeed, the use of incense at communal meals in the ancient Greco-Roman world (of which first-century Jewish-Christians in Syria and Palestine were a part) can be amply documented.¹²⁸

V. SUMMARY

To summarize, I have argued that baptism in the *Didache* is not a rite of “christological” significance, but of eschatological meaning. Baptismal theology in the *Didache* does not embrace the “death and burial with Christ” ideology of Paul (in Romans 6), but continues to show the concerns of Jewish-Christians who are committed to the Torah and to (at least a minimal) observance of ritual purity in matters which touch the table and the “initiator bath.” For the Didachist, baptism does *not* create an egalitarian community. Gentile Christians are “second-class citizens,” and are ultimately expected to embrace Torah observance. (One must become a Jew in order to be a Christian.) The baptismal liturgy of the *Didache* provides, therefore, yet another reflection of a Jewish-Christian group which wishes to remain faithful to the Torah, and is unwilling to follow either the “extreme liberals” (Paul’s party, a thoroughgoing affirmation of the legitimacy of gentile Christianity) or the “extreme hardliners” (ultra-right-wing Jewish-Christians who have abandoned the ἐκκλησία [congregation] and returned to the synagogue). It is a community which preaches what Jesus preached, but which does not necessarily preach *Jesus*. It is a community which has reappropriated practices which were repudiated by Jesus (fasting, liturgical prayer, baptism—if Hollenbach’s thesis is correct), explaining and defending them within an *eschatological* (rather than a christological) horizon.

¹²⁷ See Gero (1977), p. 70.

¹²⁸ See D.E. Smith, “Social Obligation in the Context of Communal Meals. A Study of the Christian Meal in 1 Corinthians in Comparison with Graeco-Roman Communal Meals” (Cambridge, 1980).

THE SACRED FOOD OF *DIDACHE* 9–10 AND SECOND-CENTURY ECCLESIOLOGIES

JOHN W. RIGGS

Eden Theological Seminary, Saint Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.

By the end of the second century the table-sharing event which was prominent in the ministry of Jesus had become a cultic bread and wine ritual within Christian worship. Likewise, the food which began as a meal had become divinized, sacramental elements which were used to thwart toxins and which needed to be protected from mice. The process by which these changes happened is complicated and involves certain history-of-religion concerns about divine food, cultural anthropological studies about food and communal boundaries, the connection between eucharistic rites, baptismal rites, and social history, as well as the well-known patristic phenomenon that writers can at once speak literalistically about eucharistic elements and then, in polyvalent fashion, speak allegorically about the eucharist.¹ Can these various historical and theological issues hold together, and if so how? I want to use the prayers in chapters 9–10 of the *Didache* as the focus around which to gather these issues into a whole and to construct a larger picture of church history and developing sacramental theology.

In order to provide a better understanding of the ecclesiological and sacramental evidence which the prayers of *Didache* 9–10 provide, I want first to place the early stratum of these prayers within the table-sharing ministry of Jesus. Simply put, in order to see the trajectory of table-sharing as it becomes the holy Eucharist of divine food, it is necessary first to see where the trajectory begins (section I). The divine-food motif itself next will be examined through a discussion in which I want to suggest a functional approach to the under-

¹ E.g., see Ambrose, who can speak literalistically about the eucharistic elements, and then speak of the eucharist as the kiss of Christ of which the Song of Solomon is a type (*De Sacra* 4.14–20; 5.5–17). For an English translation, see R.J. Deferrari, *Saint Ambrose* (Washington, 1963), pp. 302–304, 311–14. Cf. R.J. Halliburton, “The Patristic Theology of the Eucharist,” in C. Jones et al. (eds.), *The Study of Liturgy* (New York, 1978), pp. 201–208.

standing of the role of sacred food within church settings (section II). Next I will turn to the larger question of eucharistic theology and church organization toward which the evidence of the second century points us. I will identify connections which may be made between the eucharistic developments as they appear in *Didache* 9-10 and the organization of the community of the *Didache* as it is seen in parts of chapters 11-15. Here, the organization of chapters 1-10 as a manual for Christian initiation will be important. Section III thus will consider divine food according to the way in which it marks the extramural boundary between the Christian community and the communities which were left behind by recent converts. Section IV will look at the role which this same divine food played within the emerging internal organization of the church, whose intramural boundaries now have been marked.

I

That which eventually became the sacrament which variously is called the Lord's Supper, Holy Communion, the Eucharist, and the Mass does not have its origins in any putative last supper that Jesus shared with his disciples. There was no last supper of Jesus such as that which is portrayed in Paul's letter to Corinth or in the gospels. This view, which has been argued cogently in recent years, cannot be dismissed as merely the opinion of a few overly-skeptical (German) NT scholars.² We must be clear about the NT material or we will not understand rightly the development of this rite, and thus will not grasp the material of the *Didache* adequately. The passion narratives of the gospels, which include the last supper scenes, are ecclesial compositions. The redaction-critical work on Mark which dates from Willi Marxsen through Burton Mack has borne this out.³ So also, the recent work which has been done by the Jesus Seminar of the Westar Institute (California) on synoptic issues and the sayings of Jesus clearly

² As examples: from NT scholarship, see J. Kodell, *The Eucharist in the New Testament* (Wilmington, 1988), pp. 22-37; from liturgical theology, see K. Rahner, *Sacramentum Mundi* (New York, 1968), s.v. "Eucharist" (by J. Betz); from liturgical history, see P.F. Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship* (New York, 1992), pp. 47-48; from church history, see E.F. Ferguson, *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (New York, 1990), s.v. "Eucharist" (by E.F. Ferguson).

³ W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* (Nashville, 1969), and *The Lord's Supper as a Christological Problem* (Philadelphia, 1970); B.L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988).

argues for the ecclesial nature of the passion narrative and the last supper dialogue.⁴

Almost thirty-five years ago Marxsen published an important, though often overlooked, monograph on the Lord's supper.⁵ Marxsen essentially offered a middle ground between the view that there was an actual last supper which was instituted by Jesus and the view that the supper narrative was an ecclesial etiology which justified its cultic practice. The last supper scenes in the gospels, as well as in the pre-Pauline tradition, preserve and proclaim in a new way the decisive ministry of Jesus' table-sharing in whose "eating and drinking with Jesus, the participants experience a fellowship which they assert to be a foretaste of the eschatological fellowship."⁶ This theme was developed by Norman Perrin, and recently finds a rich treatment in the work of Mack on Mark's gospel,⁷ as well as in Dominic Crossan's study on the historical Jesus (1991).⁸ Furthermore, work which has been done upon the Greco-Roman meal traditions,⁹ the Pharisaic meal tradition,¹⁰ the Jesus movement,¹¹ and the wisdom tradition in which Jesus was experienced as Sophia incarnate¹² (notably within the meal-sharing traditions—e.g., Mt 11:16–19; Lk 7:31–35; cf. Mt

⁴ R.W. Funk and M.H. Smith, *The Gospel of Mark* (Sonoma, 1991), pp. 172–223 (esp. pp. 211–12).

⁵ Marxsen (1970), pp. 110–13; cf. Marxsen, "The Meals of Jesus and the Lord's Supper of the Church," in *Jesus and the Church* (New York, 1992), pp. 137–46.

⁶ Marxsen (1970), p. 107.

⁷ Mack (1988), pp. 78–83, 114–21, 298–306.

⁸ N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1976), pp. 102–108; J.D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus* (San Francisco, 1991), pp. 261–64, 332–48, 360–67, 398–404.

⁹ D.E. Smith, "Social Obligation in the Context of Communal Meals: A Study of the Christian Meal in I Corinthians in Comparison with Graeco-Roman Communal Meals" (Cambridge, 1980); "Table Fellowship as Literary Motif in the Gospel of Luke," *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 613–38; and, with H.E. Taussig, *Many Tables* (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 21–35; Mack (1988), pp. 81–83, 114–20. Also see R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven, 1974), pp. 74–80; R.L. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 31–47.

¹⁰ J. Neusner, *From Politics To Piety* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), and "The Pharisees: Jesus' Competition," in *Judaism in the Beginning of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 45–61.

¹¹ G. Theissen, *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1978); Mack (1988), pp. 78–97; E. Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York, 1983), pp. 105–59.

¹² J.M. Robinson, "Jesus as Sophos and Sophia: Wisdom Tradition and the Gospels," in R. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, 1975), pp. 1–16; Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 130–40, and "Wisdom Mythology and the Christological Hymns of the New Testament," in R. Wilken (ed.), *Aspects of Wisdom in Judaism and Early Christianity* (Notre Dame, 1975), pp. 17–42; P. Perkins, "Jesus: God's Wisdom," *WW* 7 (1987), pp. 273–80.

9:10-17)¹³ has completed our view of Jesus' ministry of table-sharing. On this view one must "recognize the common meal as the important thing, the occasion for social formation and the ritual meal as evidence for the way in which early Christians noticed its importance."¹⁴ A few comments about the nature of this "occasion for social formation" certainly are in order.

As Jesus traveled from one town to another, supported by those persons who were more established within local communities, he would have been invited for table-sharing where conversation, the sharing of wisdom, and perhaps the imperial rule of God would be experienced.¹⁵ Boundaries between what was clean and unclean, as well as boundaries with respect to gender, class and status, and ethnicity would have been broken. In an apt phrase, Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza describes this practice as the "praxis of inclusive wholeness" in which Israel found renewal.¹⁶ This table-sharing of God's people was clearly offensive to some¹⁷ (and perhaps even contributed to Jesus' condemnation and death), and was clearly repeated and continued by Jesus' followers within the Jesus movement.¹⁸

The development of Jesus' meal-sharing tradition into a last supper tradition, such as Paul preserves (1 Cor 11:23-25), is no longer difficult to imagine. As Christians gathered to share a meal, both in order to dine and to edify in the tradition of Jesus, Jesus himself and his meal-sharing came to be contemplated within the hellenistic-Jewish tradition of martyrdom which was quite familiar with the noble-death theme.¹⁹ In this tradition the person who dies does so for honor and obedience to a more noble cause, thus to undergo trials along the way and to serve as a model for those who follow. We can plausibly see just such a development within the tradition which Paul cites in 1 Corinthians and which he undoubtedly learned while in Antioch.²⁰

Notice, however, that this pre-Pauline account does not yet

¹³ Robinson (1975), pp. 5-6; Perkins (1987), p. 275; cf. Perrin (1976), pp. 105-106, 119-21.

¹⁴ Mack (1988), p. 114.

¹⁵ Mack (1988), pp. 80-83, 114-15.

¹⁶ Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 118-30.

¹⁷ J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (New York, 1972), pp. 128-32; Perrin (1976), pp. 107-108.

¹⁸ Mack (1988), pp. 78-83.

¹⁹ Mack (1988), pp. 102-13; D. Secley, *The Noble Death* (Sheffield, 1990); S.K. Williams, *Jesus' Death as Saving Event* (Missoula, 1975).

²⁰ Mack (1988), pp. 102-20.

attribute the evening meal to any Passover setting. How might such a Passover attribution have occurred?

Burton Mack's *A Myth of Innocence* understands Mark's gospel to be a sophisticated blend of the material from the Jesus tradition with that of the Christ myth. Mack argues that Mark's own historical context was the failure of attempts at reform which occurred within the diaspora synagogues. The last supper scene, which had borrowed from the noble-death tradition of the Christ cult, became the pivotal element in the construction of the passion narrative which links the Christ cult tradition to the Jesus traditions, including the Q and wisdom traditions about Israel's killing of the prophets:²¹

The meal was not "inserted" into a preexisting account of the passion. It was the first text on Mark's desk to crack wide open. As soon as the narrative possibilities suggested by the term *paradidonai* were seen, the passion narrative was as good as written. Mark's passion narrative is essentially an elaboration of the etiological myth of the Hellenistic cult meal through combination with the wisdom story of the persecuted Righteous One as martyr.²²

Through his ability to root the supper scene in a particular Jewish history, Mark enabled the meal to express more than an obedient liberation into the new life which began through Jesus' noble death, as well as the subsequent vindication which occurred through his resurrection. Mark shaped the last supper scene into an integral part of the proclamation that second-temple Judaism, which had aligned itself with the forces of evil and plotted the death of Jesus, thus brought judgment upon itself and the end to the temple. Out of this old Judaism emerged the one true Israel and its "paschal lamb," Jesus, who now ruled as heavenly king in place of the former, earthly high priests.

Mark was not alone in this creation of a connection between the Passover and the Christian epic. Elsewhere, others made this connection in ways which were unrelated to the tradition of the last supper. More than twenty years ago, Paul Achtemeier suggested the presence of two miracle catenae in Mark's gospel, each of which begins with an episode in which Jesus reveals his mastery over the sea and ends with a feeding miracle.²³ The stilling of the storm

²¹ Mack (1988), pp. 288–304.

²² Mack (1988), pp. 303–304.

²³ P.J. Achtemeier, "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae," *JBL* 91 (1972), pp. 198–221.

(Mk 4:35–41) leads to three healing miracles (the Gerasene demoniac, Jairus's daughter, the woman with a hemorrhage) and ends with the feeding of the five thousand (6:34–44). Likewise, the episode in which Jesus walks upon the sea (6:45–51) leads through three healing miracles (a blind man, a daughter of the Syrophenecian woman, a deaf-mute man) and ends with the feeding of the four thousand (8:1–10). Both miracle chains begin with miraculous sea crossings and end with miraculous feedings, which are parallels to the Exodus and wilderness feeding which were well-known *topoi* (topics) within first-century Judaism. The eucharistic parts of the feeding stories (i.e., blessing, breaking, giving, and the word *klasmata*) have long been apparent to exegetes, as has the parallel to John 6 in which the Exodus and eucharistic motifs are both present.

Consider finally the theme of "bread and fish eucharists" which can be seen in early Christian sarcophagus, tomb, and catacomb art in which last supper scenes never appear.²⁴

The fact remains that these early paintings and engravings evidently representing the eucharist do not portray bread and wine: in fact, wine only appears rarely. Instead the basic eucharistic elements are bread and fish, typically five loaves and two fish, accompanied in the catacomb paintings by twelve or seven baskets in front of a table at which seven or eleven figures are seated.²⁵

Crossan has elegantly argued that the bread and fish eucharist "was originally a postresurrectional confession of Jesus' continued presence at the ritualized meals of the believing community. Open commensality survived as ritualized meal."²⁶

Notice two aspects to this "bread and fish" tradition. First, Crossan indicates that "not only *servile* but *female hosting* is symbolized" by the verbs "took" and "blessed" (which connoted the master's role) and the verbs "broke" and "gave" (which connoted the female servant role).²⁷ The egalitarian nature of Jesus' table-sharing, its "solidarity from below," is strongly retained through these words.²⁸ At the same time, the water and miraculous feeding aspects of these traditions would certainly have evoked the Passover motif.

²⁴ R.H. Hiers and C.A. Kennedy, "The Bread and Fish Eucharist in the Gospels and Early Christian Art," *PRSt* 3 (1976), pp. 20–47.

²⁵ Hiers and Kennedy (1976), pp. 23–24.

²⁶ Crossan (1991), p. 402.

²⁷ Crossan (1991), p. 404.

²⁸ For the phrase "solidarity from below," see Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 140–51.

All of this material suggests that Jesus' table-sharing, in which the "praxis of inclusive wholeness" was experienced as the reign of God within the renewed Israel, quickly took on the Exodus themes of the sea and sea crossing. The miracle catenae in Mark's gospel, along with the eucharistic verbs which were used, connect stories about what is unclean and clean, male and female, Jew and foreigner, to both the Exodus themes and table-sharing. So too, the bread and fish eucharists suggest this same Exodus, sea-crossing theme and the feeding theme. And they do so within the context of a ritualized meal whose proclamation recalled the open commensality which was known in Jesus' table-sharing. Thus when Mark created his last supper narrative, he already had at his disposal its basic constitutive elements: the traditions of Jesus' table-sharing; the Christ cult's interpretation of Jesus in the tradition of the noble death, with its motif of the final meal; and the Christian idea of a new Passover, in which the Exodus theme of eating in the wilderness had already suggested a connection between Christian meals and the Passover.²⁹

II

Marxsen has argued that in the development from the pre-Pauline tradition to the Markan tradition we see more than the development from a table-sharing tradition, with the "breaking of bread" followed by the meal and then the cup, to a cultic event, where the bread and the cup stand together as the decisive liturgical moments for christological expression. He argues that we see a shift in what is interpreted here as well. Whereas earlier *the communal event* of the act of sharing received the interpretation, Marxsen says that later it is *the elements themselves* which receive the interpretation. The reason for this is to be found in the shift of the setting. The earlier tradition represents the Palestinian roots in which the divine presence is known through the communal activity of remembrance and sharing. The later Markan tradition shows the hellenistic setting in which divine presence can only be understood as something which is present *materially*, that is, the literal bread and wine themselves.³⁰

²⁹ This could have been so even if, as Robert M. Fowler has argued, the feeding miracles and last supper scene are not used to preserve liturgical tradition but to culminate the theme of discipleship; see R.M. Fowler, *Loaves and Fishes* (Chico, 1981), pp. 138-47.

³⁰ Marxsen (1970), pp. 11-113, and (1992), pp. 137-46.

For several reasons this explanation now seems difficult to accept. The work of Martin Hengel, among others, has questioned such sharp and fast distinctions which have been proposed between Palestinian Judaism and hellenism.³¹ Also, as we have seen, meal traditions within hellenism and hellenistic Judaism could be associated with noble-death traditions. Finally, it is not completely clear that the Markan account *does* think of bread and wine as literal divine food.³² At the same time, however, it must be noted that divine-food connotations were clearly assigned to the eucharistic elements by the late first or early second century when Ignatius wrote his letters. I will return to the letters of Ignatius below. For the moment this observation needs to be made. While we may question whether Marxsen is correct that the Markan text is about divine food, and while we may question Marxsen's explanation for the way in which the table-sharing motif came to be expressed as divine food, we cannot deny that Marxsen has pointed us toward a decisive shift in thought about the table-sharing of Jesus. Our attention must for the moment turn to the questions of *where* and *why* with respect to the divine-food theology which appeared at the end of the first century C.E. and which become graphically clear by the time of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (ca. 200 C.E.).

One reason that we face a difficult task in our attempts to gain a perspective on the divine-food aspects which became associated with the Lord's supper is that when we look at food and the religious connotations which it has received, we find that "dietary laws, food taboos, and the religious and social environments which have molded them are as varied as the human race itself."³³ Consequently, parallels between the divine food of the Lord's supper and the consumption of bread as "god-eating," or of wine as the life-giving blood of a sacrificial victim, or of a holy beverage as an elixir which incarnates the life principle, might best remain as various interesting parallel phenomena. Perhaps more helpful than the question about the source of thought about divine food would be a more functional approach which asks how a given food-ritual works within its particular context.

³¹ M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Philadelphia, 1974), and *The "Hellenization" of Judaea in the First Century after Christ* (Philadelphia, 1989).

³² Crossan (1991), pp. 365-66; Mack (1988), pp. 298-304.

³³ M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 1987), s.v. "Food" (by J.E. Latham), p. 387; see also s.v. "Beverages" (by B. Lincoln); Th. Klauser (ed.), *RAC* (Stuttgart, 1966), s.v. "Essen" (by A. Lumpe).

In the first half of the twentieth century, the cultural anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski studied agricultural and food patterns on the Trobriand Islands, about 120 miles off the coast of New Guinea.³⁴ It was during this study that he developed his "functional theory" of social organization. Malinowski argued that food is one of the connective ties which binds social institutions and differentiates the place of people within a community.³⁵ The work of Malinowski finds a parallel in that of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, which also was done in the first half of this century. Radcliffe-Brown studied the culture of the Andaman Islands, whose closest island in the chain lies approximately 80 miles from the coast of Burma.³⁶ As with Malinowski, the functional approach of Radcliffe-Brown indicates that food is a crucial element in social life which mediates relationships between people, including social values and the attitude of the individual towards society.³⁷

More recently Mary Douglas has argued for the functional role of food as a way to provide a social identity for a group of people, thus to differentiate a particular people from their neighbors while also to provide for internal social guidelines.³⁸ Although the work of Douglas has not been entirely without criticism, Jean Soler's semiotic approach to the same ancient, Jewish dietary material has yielded conclusions which are similar to those of Douglas.³⁹ What can be learned from these anthropological and linguistic approaches to food rituals in various cultures suggests that, formally speaking, food functions to draw boundaries which are both extramural and intramural. This concept seems properly to be generalized from these specific studies, and the brief question which remains is whether this concept can be used productively as a guide by which to apprehend the meaning of the Lord's supper as divine food.

The answer seems to be "yes," that the nature of food to draw boundaries seems to be appropriate for our particular subject. I have mentioned already the well-known phenomenon of table-sharing within

³⁴ B. Malinowski, *Soil-Tilling and Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands*, vol. 1 (Bloomington, 1965).

³⁵ Malinowski (1965), vol. 1, pp. 159-217.

³⁶ A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (New York, 1964).

³⁷ E.g., Radcliffe-Brown (1964), pp. 270-81.

³⁸ M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London, 1946), and on the latter, see "Deciphering a Meal," in C. Geertz (ed.), *Myth, Symbol, and Culture* (New York, 1971), pp. 61-81.

³⁹ J. Soler, "The Semiotics of Food in the Bible," in R. Forster et al. (eds.), *Food and Drink in History* (Baltimore, 1979), pp. 126-38.

the Greco-Roman world. These ritual meals, and the social clubs or fellowships which formalized these meals, show a detailed social stratification in such areas as membership, invitation to a given meal, seating arrangement, and the roles of those who serve and those who are served. Within Judaism we have seen the phenomenon of Pharisaic table-sharing, with its emphases upon ritual cleanliness, divine presence in the home, and boundaries for those who were thought to be unclean.

I want now to trace the boundary issues which divine food draws within the *Didache* community, and elsewhere in second-century Christianity. Section III will look at the issue of extramural boundaries, particularly the rise of Christian initiation as the church began to cope with new modes of conversion. Section IV will look at intramural issues, particularly the development of the three-fold ministry of "bishop-elder-deacon."

III

A close examination of the prayers in *Didache* 9-10 reveals a transition from table-sharing towards divine food. In an earlier essay on *Didache* 9-10, I argued that *Didache* 10 was chronologically an earlier prayer than that which is found in *Didache* 9. *Didache* 10 is a simple, Christian variation of a Jewish thanksgiving prayer which was said after the meal. We do not yet have distinct, separable liturgical moments here, one over the bread and the other over the cup, during which extended christological prayers could be attached.⁴⁰ This prayer reflected the open commensality of the Jesus tradition, and thus it continued the table-sharing ministry of Jesus.

Didache 9 shows the development of certain fixed bread and cup sayings which were attached to a meal. This implies that the implicit christology of meal-sharing, in which one did that which Jesus did, no longer sufficed without some explicit verbal identification. Time had passed and the memory of the one whose meal was continued might have become lost. Explicit christological references were added to *Didache* 10 ("through Jesus your servant") which reflected the explicit christological references in *Didache* 9.

Finally, the prayers show some redaction in order to accommo-

⁴⁰ J.W. Riggs, "From Gracious Table to Sacramental Elements: The Tradition-History of *Didache* 9 and 10," *SecCent* 4 (1984), pp. 83-101.

date a strictly cultic setting in which the meal was lost and holy elements with fenced boundaries became a prominent theme. This is seen in the second-century redactional comments within verses such as 9.5 and 10.6b. Here one not only finds a fencing of the table, but a logion from the Matthean tradition which has become attached to food rather than to teaching ("do not throw what is holy to the dogs"). Although one must be careful about the presumption of any fixed form of meal thanksgiving, given the work of Joseph Heinemann and others,⁴¹ and although I would want to be more cautious about the construction of a link between these stages and Marxsen's proposed development in 1 Corinthians and Mark, the primary point still remains—from *Didache* 10 to *Didache* 9, with editorial insertions, we see a shift from the open commensality of the Jesus tradition to a closed cultic event with divine food. Crossan has since amplified just this point.⁴² Is there a context for this fencing which also would be consistent with other material in the *Didache*?

Sub-apostolic Christianity from the turn of the century to the middle of the second century C.E. showed a significant decline in missionary efforts by Christians. The writings which are associated with Rome, such as *1 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, read with a practical and moralistic tone, despite the genre in which *Hermas* is written. If *Barnabas* reflects the Alexandrian spirit,⁴³ then Christianity also burned there with a moralistic bent rather than with missionary efforts. The letters of Ignatius also show a deep practical and doctrinal concern for the ongoing life of the churches along the coast of Asia Minor. More than anything else, the writings of the second century indicate that significantly less energy was exerted on the Pauline pattern of planting churches, and a great deal more energy was put toward issues of morality, doctrine, and internal church structure.⁴⁴ Even the most energetic attempts to find widespread, missionary church expansion in the second and third centuries have not provided great evidence.⁴⁵ On my reading, the relatively low level of church expansion and the lack of an institutional intentionality about missions are

⁴¹ Bradshaw (1992), pp. 1–17, 158–60.

⁴² Crossan (1991), pp. 360–67.

⁴³ R.A. Kraft, *Barnabas and the Didache* (New York, 1965), pp. 39–43.

⁴⁴ W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 126–39.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., E.G. Hinson, *The Evangelization of the Roman Empire* (Macon, 1981), and pay careful attention to issues of substantial evidence and date in the pre-Constantinian period (pp. 40–55). Also observe Hinson's own comments (pp. 60–61, 162, 284–85).

the more interesting aspects about church growth during this period.

We should not take this to mean, however, that Christianity did not grow significantly from the beginning of the second century onward. Indeed, it did grow beyond its less than 50,000 members who dwelled in less than fifty cities or towns.⁴⁶ Ramsay MacMullen notes that by the turn of the second century, Christianity predominated "in occasional little towns or districts," and he argues that by the year 300 Christianity had attained a membership of approximately five million people. He arrives at the latter number through the estimation of a total population of sixty million, with Christians comprising about ten percent in the more populous eastern provinces—figures which seem to be sensible.⁴⁷ If the church was not widely engaged in missionary efforts, how then are we to account for this growth?

In his book *Christianizing the Roman Empire*, as well as in an earlier essay entitled "Two Types of Conversion to Early Christianity,"⁴⁸ MacMullen observes that Christianity was particularly strange to the ordinary pagan because of the exclusive claims of its God, even though the Christian religion in some ways seemed familiar to non-Christians. No Christian could remain co-religionist, as was otherwise customary, worshipping one's God while also upholding the gods which were associated with Roman society where one lived.⁴⁹ "By contrast," writes MacMullen, "Christianity presented ideas that demanded a choice, not tolerance; and while some lay easily within the bounds of the acceptable, others were a lot harder to swallow."⁵⁰

What were these ideas which seemed "a lot harder to swallow"? MacMullen observes that pagans were presented with a Christian God who was a jealous and almighty God. God visited eternal damnation upon those who did not believe, but bestowed great power

⁴⁶ Frend (1984), p. 968; Wilken (1984), p. 31.

⁴⁷ R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100–400)* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 32–33, 135–36 n. 26; R.M. Grant, *Early Christianity and Society* (San Francisco, 1977), pp. 1–12; H. von Soden, "Die christliche Mission in Altertum und Gegenwart," and E. Molland, "Besatz die Alte Kirche ein Missionsprogramm und bewußte Missionsmethoden?," in H. Frohnes and U.W. Knorr (eds.), *Die alte Kirche* (München, 1974), pp. 24–25 and 53–54 (respectively). For further studies on the Christian population in the Roman empire, see the bibliography in Grant (pp. 193–94).

⁴⁸ R. MacMullen, "Two Types of Conversion to Early Christianity," *VigChr* 37 (1983), pp. 174–92, and *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 50, 95–96, 135.

⁴⁹ For an interesting discussion of "piety," see Wilken (1984), pp. 48–67.

⁵⁰ MacMullen (1984), p. 17.

and salvation upon those who did. The proof of this seemingly dubious claim by Christians was in the miraculous deeds which Christians and Christian exorcists could produce. Not surprisingly, we find a flourish of Christian exorcism accounts and literature in the second century. On the strength of such a witness, Christianity spread informally. Christians spoke with neighbors in the normal course of daily events.⁵¹ They told of a jealous, powerful God of heaven and hell whose power could be shown by miraculous deeds. The Christian writings which were to become canonical seemed never to have been used publicly, although they were known to some of the pagan intellectuals.⁵²

To be sure, not all scholars agree with MacMullen's provocative analysis, though interestingly, even those who would forward a very different account of the spread of Christianity question what he may have omitted, and not so much what he has found.⁵³ At any rate, let me suggest some second-century evidence which dovetails with the evidence for large numbers of converts who came to the church and

⁵¹ Cf. the account of city life which is offered by MacMullen (1974), pp. 63–66; also the comments by von Soden (1974), pp. 27–28; Molland (1974), pp. 65–67.

⁵² MacMullen (1984), pp. 17–42, and (1983), pp. 174–92. Also see the argument of MacMullen (1981) about the overall lack of evidence from the pagan world for any interest in eternal life for the individual (pp. 50–57).

⁵³ E.g., see the review of MacMullen's *Christianizing the Roman Empire* by E.G. Hinson in *ChCent* 102 (1985), pp. 504–506. I wonder whether Hinson, as well as some other reviewers, is careful enough about the limited scope of MacMullen's claims. MacMullen specifically says that he is not interested in what sustained these so-called converts within the church (*pace* Hinson, p. 506). Nor does he deny that the missionary planting of churches occurred or that notable Christian charity occurred. Further, MacMullen (1974) is quite clear that *his* use of the word "conversion" means only that a person is determined to accept and obey God. And he fully allows that the church did indeed try to change this so-called convert, and he enumerates such ways that the church conducted this activity (pp. 5–6).

There was indeed some missionary planting of churches prior to C.E. 312, though not to any widespread degree, as I read the evidence, and certainly not with any great institutional intent; so von Soden, Molland, von Harnack, even Hinson. Even in these cases, the initial contacts may well have had the conversational content which MacMullen's evidence indicates. Also, Christianity was mainly urban in nature, a setting which suits MacMullen's dialogical spread of Christian proclamation and the large numbers of "converts." Finally, among the four themes which are most often mentioned as crucial for the spread of Christianity (high morals, charitable work, forgiveness and eternal life, and exorcisms and healings), two are exactly the themes which MacMullen finds to be most prevalently presented to the pagan world.

Also see the portraits which Wilken (1984) offers of the second-century pagans Pliny, Galen, and Celsus, and the third-century pagan Porphyry (pp. 1–163). Wilken gives an account of how Christianity appeared to the social elite which is broader than is MacMullen's more narrowly focused interest. On the whole, however, Wilken's

claimed allegiance to the Christian God, that is, second-century evidence which credits the institutional strengths—to which Glenn Hinson points⁵⁴—which *sustain* these so-called converts in Christianity.

In the second century we see a liturgical pattern develop for which we have no sure previous evidence: pre-baptismal instruction; baptism as an entrance into the local community; and then first communion. As early as C.E. 150 Justin Martyr tells us that,

Those who are persuaded and believe the things we teach and say are true, and promise that they can live accordingly, are instructed to pray and beseech God with fasting for the remission of their past sins, while we pray and fast along with them. Then they are brought by us where there is water, and are reborn by the same manner of rebirth by which we ourselves were reborn. . . . (*IApol* 61)⁵⁵

After the baptism, those who were baptized were brought to the gathered community where they would share in the cultic act of the eucharist for the first time. Justin reminds his audience that,

. . . we do not receive these things as common bread or common drink; but as Jesus Christ our Saviour being incarnate by God's word took flesh and blood for our salvation, so also we have been taught that the food consecrated by the word of prayer which comes from him, from which our flesh and blood are nourished by transformation, is the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus. (*IApol* 55)⁵⁶

When one considers the primary pattern for church growth in the second century, one may also begin to appreciate how and when Christian initiation arose. As Christian communities received increasing numbers of converts—by which I mean (following MacMullen) people who, through the witness of an exclusive omnipotent God, fear of hell, and miraculous deeds, claim this God as their god—local Christian communities responded with an attempt to insure that these people underwent specific doctrinal and moral training which distinguished them as Christians. Everyone from Marcion to Hippolytus

portraits reflect the assessment of MacMullen, particularly about the exclusive and seemingly capricious nature of the Christian God. The issue about the distinctiveness of Jesus is too long to argue here. Let me just observe that the discussions from Celsus and Porphyry which Wilken cites not only account for much about the historical Jesus within pagan terms, but, conversely, that any pagan claim that Jesus was not God finds both apostolic roots in Christianity—see Williams (1975); Seeley (1990)—and popular, fourth-century support (Arianism).

⁵⁴ Hinson (1981), pp. 73–110, 167–82, 284–85.

⁵⁵ C.C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (New York, 1970), p. 282.

⁵⁶ Richardson (1970), p. 286.

developed a long catechumenate.⁵⁷ When the new Christians were properly instructed and baptized, they could then partake of divine food, which now served as the special nourishment for those who were within the boundary of the Christian church. During the second century, Justin was not the only witness to the development of this pattern of initiation/divine food. I want to turn first to the end of the century, then to conclude with the *Didache*, which stands at the middle of the century.

The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus was written sometime around the year 200 C.E.⁵⁸ Although we can no longer take the *Tradition* either as a witness to significantly earlier liturgical practice, nor as a witness to any universal, liturgical practice at the turn of the second century,⁵⁹ the evidence which the *Tradition* provides remains valuable for our purpose.

Hippolytus speaks about a three-year catechumenate, with a rigorous scrutiny (a "pre-catechumenate" if you will), prior to entering the catechumenate (chapters 15–17). The Christian proclamation which new "converts" had heard informally could hardly have been comparable to the earliest Christian preaching (i.e., the preaching which was reflected in the Jesus traditions or the Pauline communities) in which faith was primarily the act of trust in a gracious God. The news of an exclusive, powerful God who controlled the matters of eternal life could only evoke fear and the desire to secure one's safe eternal existence. Training in the gospel and its inherent ethical demands was necessary so that these converts might in fact have a real conversion to Christianity.⁶⁰ New converts entered a three-year

⁵⁷ MacMullen's type of initial conversion process certainly accounts for the puzzling (and always overlooked) phenomenon of the extreme process of the pre-catechumenate screening, which Hippolytus outlines (chapters 15–16), *just to be able to enter* the three-year catechumenate (chapter 17). Note that the sponsors must vouch for these newcomers and their capability "of hearing the word." Apparently, Hippolytus assumes that a significant number of these "converts" had not yet heard "the word." Cf. the comments of J.N.D. Kelly concerning church growth and doctrinal fidelity in *Early Christian Creeds* (New York, 1950), pp. 100–101. For this essay, I refer to G.J. Cuming, *Hippolytus* (Nottingham, 1984). The translation which I use comes from Cuming, based upon the Latin text as given by G. Dix, with emendations by B. Botte. The chapter numbers follow those of Cuming (not of Dix).

⁵⁸ For a brief introduction to sources and text history, see Cuming (1984), pp. 1–7; also see C.A. Bobertz, "The Role of Patron in the *Cena Dominica* of Hippolytus' *Apostolic Tradition*," *JThS* NS 44 (1993), pp. 170–17 nn. 1–3.

⁵⁹ Bradshaw (1992), pp. 89–92.

⁶⁰ Whether, in fact, the three-year catechumenate into which converts entered taught a Christianity which was appropriate to the original apostolic testimony to Jesus is beside the point for this study.

catechuminate, therefore, at the end of which they prepared for their baptism by an all-night Easter vigil. The baptism on Easter morning followed the vigil and led directly to the participation of the newly baptized convert in first communion with the gathered community (chapters 20–21).

It is noteworthy that the emphasis upon the eucharist as divine food has developed significantly, much as the initiation process has developed (cf. the witness in Justin *1 Apology*). Several chapters after his description of initiation, Hippolytus urges:

Let every one of the faithful take steps to receive the eucharist before he eats anything else. For if he receives in faith, even if some deadly thing is given him, after that it shall not overpower him. Let everyone take care that no unbeliever eats of the eucharist, nor any mouse or other animal, and that none of it falls and is lost. For it is the body of Christ, to be eaten by believers, and not to be despised. (chapters 36–37)

Here the idea of the divine food has become so prominent that the eucharist has assumed magical, as well as sacred, qualities. In an echo of the much earlier comment by Ignatius that the bread is the “antidote which wards off death” (see below), Hippolytus attributes supernatural medicinal qualities to the eucharist. Notice also how strongly the idea of divine food now separates the community. Not only are unbelievers “fenced off,” but so too are animals such as mice, who might profane the presence of Christ.

Where does the *Didache* stand within this development in which divine food marks the extramural boundary of the community, separating the non-Christian world? We have seen already that there is a fencing of the table by the final edition of *Didache* 9–10, and that ἄγιοι (sacred elements) are not to be thrown to the dogs (9.5). An important, recent work on the *Didache* helps to connect this extramural “fencing” function of divine food with exactly the initiation process which we have seen in Justin Martyr and Hippolytus.

In his 1989 study on the *Didache*, Kurt Niederwimmer rejects the highly influential three-stage thesis of redaction which was offered by Jean-Paul Audet.⁶¹ Niederwimmer argues for a basic two-stage development instead.⁶² In this view, a redactor around the year 120 C.E. preserved and edited four *Vorlagen* (sources)—the Two Ways document, a liturgical tract, a tract on church organization, and an

⁶¹ K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989); J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), pp. 104–20, 187–210.

⁶² Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 64–80.

apocalyptic section. More than that, the Didachist interpreted the Two Ways material catechetically in a pastoral and conservative response to the needs of the local congregation:⁶³ the Didachist appended to this opening catechetical material certain traditions on prayer, fasting, baptism, and the celebration of the communal meal.⁶⁴ In short, the Didachist produced a church manual which outlined a process of Christian initiation.

Niederwimmer's work has a strong literary-critical approach to the *Didache* text. The "Prolegomena," which appears in seven sections, is a thorough discussion of the manuscript and its transmission.⁶⁵ The subsequent "Commentary" displays an analysis and organization of literary units which is almost as detailed as the extensive documentation.⁶⁶ What readers might desire is more material which sets the *Didache* within a larger social and religious history. There is, to be sure, some discussion of socio-ecclesial issues at that point where the commentary turns to a discussion of the wandering apostles and the more established ministries of the community,⁶⁷ but the overall redaction-critical question hardly receives mention.⁶⁸

What would have urged this conservative "protector" and "preserver" of the tradition to have worked when s/he did? Why did the Didachist not preserve the *Vorlagen* as they were? Why were they edited together so that the Two Ways document functions as a *Taufkatechese* (baptismal catechesis) which precedes a church *Agende* (liturgy) which opens with baptism, fasting and prayer, and a supper? Let me suggest an outline of the social and ecclesial history.

As we have seen, the church grew to about five million members by the year 300 C.E., a growth of roughly 25,000 people per year if we calculate from the turn of the first century. The typical conversion process which best accounts for these large numbers happens in

⁶³ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 81–157, 158 (cf. also 270–71).

⁶⁴ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 158–209.

⁶⁵ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 11–88.

⁶⁶ E.g., the analysis of the Way of Life and the Way of Death; Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 89–151. Though Niederwimmer has undertaken some excellent work here, I am not necessarily convinced of the literary integrity of the four *Vorlagen* prior to their reception by the Didachist. The prayers in *Didache* 9–10 could well have had a development such as I have argued above. Here I reject Niederwimmer's argument (pp. 173–205) for the presence of a communal meal between the meal blessings (chapter 9) and the thanksgiving prayer (chapter 10).

⁶⁷ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 212–46.

⁶⁸ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 78–80, 271–72.

the normal mix of Christians with their neighbors, predominately in urban settings.⁶⁹ What Christians shared outside of the Christian community included little or nothing of the materials which made it into the NT canon, or even into the apocryphal material. Further, low literacy levels meant that stories and conversation were the usual mode of contact between Christians and non-Christians. For its part, public Christian conversation about God portrayed a jealous, omnipotent God who wanted the worship of no other deity and who had the power to punish or reward with an eternal damnation or life. The proof of such a divine power was known through the stories of exorcism, healing, and martyrdom.

When those people who were convinced by such a Christian witness came to join the local Christian community, there was the natural desire of that community to transmit its ethical and theological views. A pattern of teaching, baptism, and first communion therefore developed for the first time in the middle of the second century. Older Christian traditions were applied to a current pastoral problem.⁷⁰ Is this not a likely explanation for the work of the Didachist?⁷¹

As the *Didache* community began to grow more rapidly, it needed a new means by which to train converts in the old traditions. We can imagine that prophets and teachers tried to find new roles in these turbulent times, and they settled into the community as part of this larger catechetical process. Thus the Didachist needed to account for their presence and for the way in which they might be remunerated (*Did* 13.1–7). The new initiation process meant instruction with respect to the recent converts, followed by their participation in the divine food of the community, an activity which served to

⁶⁹ In a discussion of urban life during this period (and Christianity was predominately urban), MacMullen (1974) notes "the conclusions that follow from the distribution of living space: the narrower one's house, the more time would naturally be spent among one's neighbors, the more intercourse and friendliness, the more gossip and exchange of news and sense of fraternity" (p. 63); cf. MacMullen (1984), pp. 39–40.

⁷⁰ For the moment, let me just raise two rhetorical questions. Can this practice of Christian initiation be observed during the NT period if we do not assume it first and then cisegete it into the NT texts? In fact, can baptism as a universally practiced rite of entrance into the Christian community really be observed prior to the second century?

⁷¹ Note the comment of Niederwimmer (1989), p. 78: "Für den Didachisten ist folgende Gesinnung charakteristisch: das Festhalten an der Überlieferung bei gleichzeitiger Tendenz, die altern Traditionen mit den veränderten Verhältnissen der sich stabilisierenden Kirche zu vermitteln."

mark their separation from the non-Christian world. Indeed, some have argued that the lure of the eucharist might itself have been an "implicit" missionary activity.⁷² We need only to ask whether this scenario fits with what we know about the context of the *Didache* and its editor.⁷³

The provenance of the *Didache* has usually been assigned alternatively to Egypt, to the Syria-Palestine region, or to an area in or around Antioch.⁷⁴ The references to wandering charismatics, and the familiarity of the Didachist with the tradition which is preserved here, is likely to exempt Egypt, but not necessarily the area of Antioch which, as a crucial center for early Christianity, might have been familiar with this more Syrian-Palestinian tradition. Niederwimmer has doubts about Antioch, though he comments that the provenance question is "a grope in the dark."⁷⁵ On the other hand, Antioch, and perhaps its environs in the direction towards Edessa, already by the second century had various Christian communities, a flow of hellenistic and hellenistic-Jewish ideas, early Christian missionary activity, and a substantial Christian population,⁷⁶ all of which make the city a more likely setting for the Didachist than would the Syria-Palestine area.

The dates for the *Didache* and its redactions also vary widely. Niederwimmer suggests a late first-century date for the various *Vorlagen*, with an editorial date around the year 120.⁷⁷ This final date, however, is surely too early for the completed document, as many scholars have

⁷² Hinson (1981), pp. 103–10, 161–62, 183–92, 284–85.

⁷³ The place and date of the *Didache* and the editor(s) is, of course, much debated. For a good summary of various positions, see C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 1–21; Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 78–80.

⁷⁴ Niederwimmer's argument for four *Vorlagen*, which were later edited together, may explain the diversity of external and internal evidence which points to three different locations.

⁷⁵ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 79–80.

⁷⁶ A. von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, vol. 2 (New York, 1908), pp. 91–120, 125–52; cf. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 165–66.

⁷⁷ Whether the date which is ascribed to the separate *Vorlagen* is correct for each tract, especially the liturgical tract, is too large a question for this essay. Furthermore, as I suggested earlier in my comments on *Didache* 9–10, each *Vorlage* could well have had its own developmental history. *Die Agende*, e.g., may have been a liturgical collection whose individual parts (prayer, fast, baptism, meal) were arranged by the Didachist to fit the opening *Taufkatechese*. Or perhaps this liturgical *Vorlage* was, in fact, originally arranged in the order of baptism-prayers-meal. In that case, this tract would represent a stage of development after the Jesus movement (in which any water ritual certainly occurred *after* the meal), but prior to second-century Christian initiation which began with catechesis. Note also Kloppenborg's comment that the

argued for various reasons.⁷⁸ Here the liturgical material, both the redacted initiation pattern and the editorial comment on the eucharist as divine food, makes a date near the middle of the second century to be the more probable alternative. Justin Martyr, for example, knows a pattern of initiation which is similar to the completed *Didache*—instruction, baptism, prayers, and supper with food that somehow incarnates Jesus Christ.⁷⁹

In summary, we have seen that in the second century the eucharist, which was understood to be divine food, became the culmination of the event of initiation for the believer into certain Christian communities. The initiation event began with instruction which separated Christian life and beliefs from non-Christian ones, and the divine food became the “sign-act” (so to speak) which enacted this extramural boundary. Justin shows this pattern, as does Hippolytus. The *Didache* gives us a special glimpse into this second-century event of initiation. In response to church growth, traditional Jewish-Christian teachings were interpreted as baptismal-catechetical material and then were added to baptism and supper traditions. At the same time, the Didachist edited the meal traditions in a way which would indicate the divine nature of the cultic elements, thus ritually to draw the extramural boundary which the rite of initiation demanded.

IV

The *Didache* shows another area in which boundaries are more clearly defined and marked—the internal organization of the local community—and I want to look at the role which divine food plays as it marks this intramural boundary. One of the four *Vorlagen* which Niederwimmer discusses involves the ministry of the wandering charismatic prophets.⁸⁰ Here we see the early structure of the Christian

Two Ways *Vorlage* indicates a complex redactional history which argues that a date for the final document should lie somewhere within the middle of the second century; see the review of Niederwimmer's *Die Didache* by J.S. Kloppenborg in *CBQ* 53 (1991), p. 502.

⁷⁸ For a good list of references, see Niederwimmer (1989), p. 79 n. 72.

⁷⁹ The extent of pre-baptismal catechesis in Justin's account, however, is not clear. The instruction is certainly more simple than the catechumenate of Hippolytus, but probably less developed than the Two Ways material of the *Didache*. Given the great diversity of early Christianity, Niederwimmer's date of C.E. 120 for the finished document is not out of the question, but the initiatory liturgical structure speaks more for a mid-century date.

⁸⁰ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 209–23.

communities which developed within the Jesus movement. Wandering charismatic prophets, whose ministry continued that of Jesus (including table-sharing), needed support from those persons of substance who lived within the communities which they visited. Over time, sub-apostolic Christianity began to shift its authority from charismatic prophets to local, institutionalized offices.⁸¹ In the *Didache* the development of this localized clergy can be seen in chapter 15, which is ascribed by Niederwimmer to the redactor's second-century effort. While the *Didache* community does not at yet show a centralized mono-episcopate, the Didachist still functions with the authority of a single overseer.⁸²

Over a century ago Edwin Hatch argued that the offices of overseer (bishop), deacon, and elder had their origins in Greco-Roman social associations.⁸³ When these offices became permanent structures of the Christian community, replacing the prophetic and apostolic roles which had been played by the trans-local charismatic prophets, they also underwent a process of "patriarchalization" which led to an even more restricted role for women within the Christian communities.⁸⁴ The question which I would pose is concerned with the way in which cultic activity, especially the development of the idea of divine food, might have been related to the changing structures of authority.

At the turn of the first century, the letters of Ignatius assumed the themes of both fixed offices and divine food. On the one hand, we find a sure connection to a literal presence of Jesus Christ within the eucharistic elements. Such a eucharistic realism can be seen in Ignatius

⁸¹ Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 285–315.

⁸² Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 241–44 (also 270–71).

⁸³ E. Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* (New York, 1901), pp. 26–82.

⁸⁴ Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 285–342. For a thorough, though uneven, review of secondary scholarship on the origins of the three-fold office, see J.T. Burtchaell, *From Synagogue to Church* (Cambridge, 1992). Attempts to see the evolution of the Christian three-fold ministry from the synagogue seem fruitless (*pace* Burtchaell) given what we now know about the synagogue system, such as it was, prior to the fall of the temple during the first century C.E. See, e.g., J. Gutman, "The Origin of the Synagogue: The Current State of Research," in *The Synagogue* (New York, 1975), pp. 72–76. The question of church offices also connects to liturgical leadership (cf. Ignatius). For a deconstruction of the long-standing argument that Christian worship evolved from some putative, universal synagogue worship, see R.S. Sarason, "The Modern Study of Jewish Liturgy," and "Recent Developments in the Study of Jewish Liturgy," in J. Neusner (ed.), *The Study of Ancient Judaism*, vol. 1 (New York, 1981), pp. 107–79 and 180–87 (respectively); Bradshaw (1992), pp. 1–29.

Eph 20.2, *Sm* 7.1, and *Rom* 7.3, though the eucharistic literalism in the letter to the Romans connects with the broader themes of Christ's presence as God's "incorruptible love" and Christ's presence within the gathered, ethical community.⁸⁵

Within the Ignatian letters we also find a "patriarchalization" of the fixed offices within the Christian community. The bishop is a type of God the Father, the deacons represent Jesus Christ, and the presbyters are like God's council, an apostolic band (*Trall* 3.1; *Magn* 6.1). The youthful bishop of the Magnesians ought to be respected by the members of the church just as they respect "the authority of God the Father" (*Magn* 3.1).⁸⁶

Furthermore, we can already see a relationship between the divine-food theme and that of the episcopal office. Thus Ignatius instructs the church at Smyrna: "Nobody must do anything that has to do with the church without the bishop's approval. You should regard that eucharist as valid which is celebrated by the bishop or someone else he authorizes" (*Sm* 8.1).

By the mid-second century we also see within the redacted final form of the *Didache* a relationship between divine food and fixed offices. Observe first that in 10.6b we find the following call: "If someone is holy, let the person come. If someone is not holy, let the person repent." Although Niederwimmer assigns the entire verse to the liturgical *Vorlage*, the verse fits better with 10.7, which Niederwimmer assigns to the Didachist:

Let the Lord come and let this world pass away. Amen. Hosanna to the house of David. If anyone is holy let them come, if not, let them repent. Lord, come! Amen. As for the prophets, let them give thanks in their own way.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ But see the comments by W.R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 97–99 (cf. 184–87, 240–42). Observe that even when Schoedel interprets Ignatius *Eph* 20.2 more broadly than a mere reference to the material and magical presence of Christ within the eucharistic bread ("the medicine of immortality" and the "antidote which wards off death"), he admits that an Ignatian eucharistic literalism is still present in Ignatius' thought.

⁸⁶ Although Schoedel (1985) cautions against a hierarchical reading of the Ignatian passages (pp. 55–57, 108–11, 112–14, 141–42, 242–44), his explanations can seem forced and overly tortuous in their attempts to dismiss the patriarchal comparisons (pp. 112–14). Furthermore, no matter how Schoedel may discuss these offices in relation to the community as a whole, or to discuss the ways in which mutual obedience and service are the larger theme, the gender of the types is male, and communal relationships which are modeled upon these types can *at best* be considered as a form of "love patriarchy"; cf. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), pp. 293–94.

⁸⁷ For text-critical issues and translation, see Riggs (1984), pp. 86–91.

These verses come from the Didachist who, through the additions of 9.5 and 10.6–7 to the tradition which is inherited at 9.1–4 and 10.1–5,⁸⁸ shapes the material for a eucharist in which the elements will become the body and blood of Christ, perhaps on the model of incarnation.⁸⁹ The parallels to Justin Martyr, also in the middle of the second century, are striking—the meal is gone, the food has become divine food, and the analog for the transformation of the food is a concept of incarnation.⁹⁰

Someone in the community fences the table, not only to separate outsiders (9.5) but also those within the community who have not properly repented and become reconciled with their neighbors (10.6; 14.1–2). But who in the community fences the table and is the voice which calls members to repentant, ethical lives? Clearly this is not the prophets, neither those who wander nor those who are settled (10.7). The answer can only be that it is those persons who have been elected as “bishops and deacons” (15.1–2). The roles for these people consume much of the Didachist’s editorial work throughout chapters 12–15.⁹¹ We may reasonably assume that the same concern for their role and relationship to the prophets can be seen in 9.5 and 10.6–7. Those who were elected from within the community to the fixed offices of “bishops and deacons” administer penitential words, fence the table, and thus have the ministry of divine food within their purview.

The ancient Greco-Roman world had its own social system which linked life’s essentials to a fixed and hierarchical structure—patronage. Patronage was a fundamental structure of the pre-modern Greco-Roman world whose organization was based upon patron-client relationships rather than upon a centralized, democratic government with universal, equal rights.⁹² The patron had the political and economic resources which were needed by clients, and clients reciprocated by

⁸⁸ Audet (1958) assigns 9.5 and 10.6 to the same editor (pp. 414–16); Niederwimmer (1989) assigns 9.5 and 10.7 to the hand of the Didachist (pp. 158, 173–75, 205).

⁸⁹ Note the still eloquent argument of B. Botte, “Maranatha,” in *Noël-Epiphanie Retour du Christ* (Paris, 1967), pp. 25–42, who argues that the word “maranatha” implies that Jesus is present in the community (actual present tense—now, in the sacrament) between the moments of his life (historical perfect tense—then, through incarnation) and his return (imperative—coming, at the parousia).

⁹⁰ Cf. Halliburton (1978), pp. 207–208.

⁹¹ Niederwimmer (1989), pp. 223–44.

⁹² For the following, as well as for a good summary and citations of the studies

their offer of loyalty. Solidarity and honored obligations were crucial. Thus, though the bonds were accepted voluntarily and in principle could be voluntarily removed, the patronage relationship typically bound people into a long-term association, even with spiritual dimensions for the relationship. At the same time, the fundamental asymmetry of power which existed between a patron and client simply needed to exist.⁹³ Patronage clearly functioned within Christian house-church relationships.⁹⁴

In a helpful essay on the role of the patron within the *Apostolic Tradition*, Charles Bobertz draws connections between the function of patronage and the role of the *episcopus* (bishop) within the Christian community.⁹⁵ In chapters 26–29 we have the setting of a communal meal which was called the *cena Dominica* (Lord's supper). Instructions are given for a meal which is offered by a patron and in which ordinary Christians have been invited and thus are the honored guests. The rules of honored obligation apply to both the patron and clients for those cases in which a full meal is given, or in those cases in which merely a *apoforetum* (food-gift) is offered.

Because of the patronage structure of Greco-Roman society in which social benefits were distributed by patrons to clients, many of whom were themselves patrons for other clients, individuals and groups of people at the bottom of the patronage system were sometimes dependent upon patrons for subsistence food, as well as for banquets.⁹⁶ At the time of Hippolytus, an option of the patronage system was to present a food-gift, or the monetary equivalent, instead of an actual banquet itself. And while some Roman authors indicated that the offer of a food-gift instead of a banquet was a major disappointment for some clients, one can easily imagine that food charity, or the

on patronage, see H. Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts," in J.H. Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody, 1991), pp. 241–68; also see Crossan (1991), pp. 59–81; MacMullen (1974).

⁹³ Interestingly, some people lived on both sides of this power relationship through their role as "brokers" within the patronage system. Wealthy patrons had clients who brokered that patronage to other people and often served as a patron to these people; see Moxnes (1991), pp. 248–49 and references.

⁹⁴ W.A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 52–53, 78; see Theissen's three seminal essays on Corinth, reprinted in G. Theissen, *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums* (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 231–317.

⁹⁵ Bobertz (1993), pp. 170–84.

⁹⁶ Observe the theme of the dependence of the poor upon the wealthy, as is found in MacMullen (1974).

monetary equivalent, was a necessary part of life for some at the bottom of the patronage system.⁹⁷ Hippolytus likely reflects just this situation when he urges that

If an offering, which is called in Greek "apophoretion," is made to all in common, accept some. If it is for all to eat, eat enough for there to be some left over, which he who invited you may send to whom he wishes, as it were from the left-overs of the saints, and rejoice in confidence. (chapter 28)

The support of wealthy patrons within a Christian community was needed because such persons had control over precious and life-sustaining resources, most especially food. What a given church community received from its wealthy patrons, therefore, was some degree of sustenance. In return the patrons retained their honored status and received deference from the local bishop, in this case Hippolytus. In the *Apostolic Tradition*, however, we also see some transfer of power over the meal from the patron to the bishop. For example, in the absence of the *episcopus*, either the *presbyterus* (presbyter) or the *diaconus* (deacon) may be responsible for the distribution of the food. In any case, the role of the patron is diminished (chapter 28). Or again, *cum dixerit episcopus uerbum* (when the bishop speaks), all people are to remain silent and listen, including the patron (chapter 28). In short, although the Christian community is still dependent upon the patron, the fundamental control of the meal and the conversation therein, has passed from the patron to the *episcopus*, and in some cases to those who fill the other fixed offices of *presbyterus* and *diaconus*.

However much the Christian setting may have mitigated social ethics toward some shared power and the common good,⁹⁸ this *cena Dominica* has changed considerably from the open commensality of the Jesus movement, whose very activity was *not* derived from the

⁹⁷ For a brief discussion and references, see Bobertz (1993), pp. 174–76.

⁹⁸ Bobertz (1992) argues that within this particular patronage meal setting, practiced as it was *in nomine Domini* (in the name of the Lord, chapter 29), Hippolytus has mitigated the power of the patron through a recognition of the Christian context of the meal (pp. 179–82) and the power of the *episcopus*. In addition to the passages which are cited about the role of the *episcopus*, note also that the Christian guests might in principle refuse the food gift if that gift is not made towards all (chapter 28). The argument of Bobertz may well be correct about the patronage meals within the setting which is described by Hippolytus, but there is no *necessary* improvement of ethical activity within a community when the power of the patron begins to be transferred to the *episcopus*. We cannot presume that patron-client relationships were always abusive or capricious.

asymmetrical, power-based, patron-client model. In fact, were one to look at the relationship between Jesus and table-sharing from the perspective of the patron-client system, one might expect to see exactly the reversal of power which one here finds. Moxnes's study of patronage in Luke-Acts details the way in which Jesus as "patron-servant" reverses the structure of patronage and helps to provide a community of equals.⁹⁹

This material from the *Apostolic Tradition* adds to our emerging picture of the connection between sacred food and intramural boundaries within Christian communities. At the turn of the first century within the Ignatian communities, we have seen that those communities in which the meal assumed the idea of divine food, even to the point of materialistic presence, could also be communities which showed an increased differentiation among fixed internal roles.

Later, in the middle of the second century, the prayers in *Didache* 9-10 became redacted (with the addition of a new theme of sacred food) into a larger ecclesial document. The Didachist places a ministry *Vorlage* (chapter 11), which contains the tradition of wandering charismatic prophets, into a discussion of fixed ministries within a local community. Among their other duties, these fixed ministries have the power to demand penance and to preside over the meal (chapters 9-10). This redaction itself was done by someone who acted with the authority of the mono-episcopate, even though such a structure was not yet formalized.

By the end of the second century the powers of the patronage system were transferred to the roles of bishop, presbyter, and deacon within the community which was known to Hippolytus. Ordinary

⁹⁹ See Moxnes (1991), pp. 250-68. As an example, one can see God in Luke-Acts as the ultimate patron and benefactor of humankind who expects loyalty from God's people—no one can serve both God and mammon as patron (Lk 16:13). Jesus brokers this divine patronage, and does so in ways which skirt the usual brokering institutions such as the temple, Torah, priests, scribes, Pharisees, etc. As Moxnes comments (p. 258), "Jesus as a broker has a problem within Israel in that he does not represent the center. As a mediator from the outside he is rejected by the elites and the establishment." The brokerage which Jesus brings, however, reverses the usual social role wherein the broker has honor and power because of his connection to the patron. When he shares the table for the last time, Jesus asks which is greater, "one who sits at table, or one who serves?" The natural answer is reversed by the words, "But I am among you as one who serves" (Lk 22:27-28). The benefaction of God passes through the brokering patron, but this patron is "now intimately linked to the act of serving," and thus is linked both to Jesus and to his followers (p. 260).

laity could not bless the bread at the patronage *cena Dominica*. At the same time, the *episcopus* now controlled the sacred food which, within the proper cultic circumstances, had so materially become Jesus Christ that it medicinally defeated poisonous foods and needed to be kept from mice.

Furthermore, patriarchy became connected to the emergence of sacred food and its relationship with fixed offices. The letters of Ignatius show all three themes (divine food, fixed offices, patriarchal description of roles), so that Ignatius is clear that only the bishop, whose office has a heavenly and male structure, may validly preside at the Lord's supper. At the end of the second century Hippolytus provides evidence for the transfer of power over the food from the patron (or perhaps patrona) to the fixed offices of bishop, or in some cases to the presbyter or deacon. Schüssler Fiorenza reminds us that the loss of the patronage relationship, in which "wealth gave women great influence and authority," and the transference of its authority to fixed offices "was to have far-reaching consequences for the leadership of women."¹⁰⁰

V

We have seen the development of the Lord's supper as it evolved from the table-sharing of Jesus to that form of cultic activity which featured fixed forms of prayers and elements which were materially the presence of the incarnate Jesus Christ. As this trajectory developed within different communities, sacred food came to function in two ways. Food helped to mark the extramural boundary of the church, separating the community from the larger world. Sacred food also helped to mark intramural boundaries as the offices of bishop, presbyter, and deacon developed during the later first century and into the second. The growth of patriarchy and the attachment of power over the divine food can be recognized as part of the intramural function which sacred food had.

The *Didache*, with its food prayers in chapters 9–10, the discussion of church leadership in chapters 11–15, and the use of baptismal material (chapter 7) and the Two Ways document (chapters 1–6), provides an invaluable witness to these developments. From the NT

¹⁰⁰ Schüssler Fiorenza (1983), p. 288.

era to the early third century, sources are fairly limited. And yet during this same period significant growth and change has occurred within Christianity. By virtue of its earlier sources and its second-century redaction, the *Didache* has a unique and important value for historians.

SOCIAL AMBIGUITY AND THE PRODUCTION OF TEXT:
PROPHETS, TEACHERS, BISHOPS, AND DEACONS
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE JESUS
TRADITION IN THE COMMUNITY
OF THE *DIDACHE**

JONATHAN A. DRAPER

University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, Republic of South Africa

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the remarkable features of the short apocalypse in *Didache* 16 is the way in which the final evil is envisaged as emerging from within the community:¹

For in the last days, false prophets and corrupters will multiply, and the sheep will turn themselves (στροφῆσονται) into wolves and love will turn into hate. For when lawlessness increases, they will hate one another and persecute and betray, and then the world deceiver will appear as a son of God and do signs and wonders, and the world will be given into his hands, and he will do lawless deeds which have never happened since the creation. (*Did* 16.3–4)²

The antichrist does not appear to be Caesar, but to be an embodiment of a division within the community itself. Elaine Pagels has aptly characterized this phenomena in the biblical texts with her description of Satan as “the intimate enemy.”³ The *Didache* here shows a consciousness of a world where appearances cannot be trusted, even within the community of the redeemed. Beware! Lamps are

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¹ J.A. Draper, “Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the *Didache* Community,” *NovTest* 33 (1991), pp. 368–71.

² All translations of the *Didache* in this essay are my own.

³ E. Pagels, “The Social History of Satan, the ‘Intimate Enemy’: A Preliminary Sketch,” *HThR* 84 (1991), pp. 1–23; cf. “The Social History of Satan, part 2: The Human Face(s) of Satan in the Gospels,” in E.H. Lovering, Jr. (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta, 1992), pp. 320–45.

always in danger of being extinguished; the loincloth is always in danger of coming undone. Even a long period of membership is no guarantee that the member will be found perfect (16.1–2)—so fragile is the equilibrium of the community.

This suspicion that the antichrist really reflects division within the community receives support from the warning which is given against teachers⁴ who may suddenly turn and seek to destroy the community: "But if the same teacher should turn (στραφείς) and teach another teaching in order to destroy (εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι), do not listen to him" (11.1).⁵ A similar concern informs the conclusion of the Two Ways teaching, where a warning is given: "Beware lest anyone leads you astray from this way of teaching, since he teaches you apart from God" (6.1). Beneath the ordinary human exterior of any community member in the *Didache* may lurk the demonic forces which seek to overthrow the community.⁶

II. PROFILE OF A WITCH-BELIEVING SOCIETY

This kind of situation fits the profile of a "witch-believing system" as has been delineated by Mary Douglas in her perceptive book *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*.⁷ Her anthropological analysis is based upon the correlation of two variables—grid and group. Grid refers to the degree of formal structure and clear allocation of roles; group

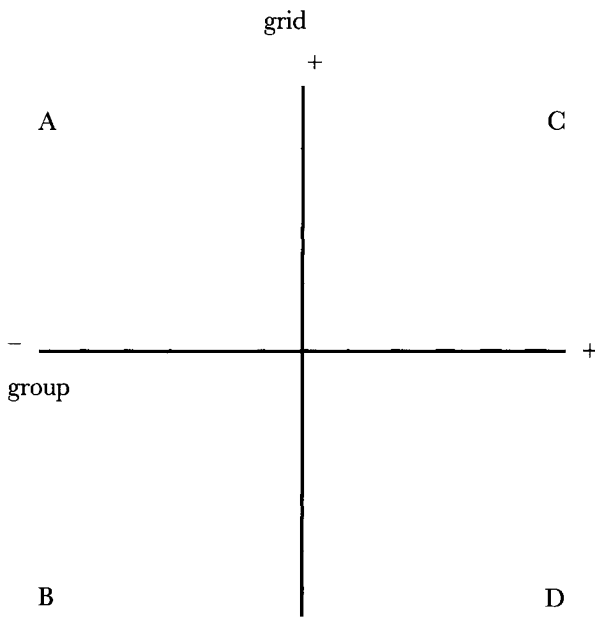
⁴ I translate the label ὁ διδάσκων as "teachers" here without necessarily accepting that they are designated officials as such, as is argued by G. Schöllgen, "Die Didache als Kirchenordnung: Zur Frage des Abfassungszweckes und seinen Konsequenzen für die Interpretation," *JAC* 29 (1986), pp. 19–26. I have argued elsewhere that this passage refers to apostles; see Draper (1991), pp. 356–60; cf. U. Neymeyr, *Die Lehrer im zweiten Jahrhundert* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 139–55.

⁵ Draper (1991), pp. 356–60.

⁶ This ethos is apparent also in Mt 13:36–43, where the weeds which grow together with the wheat are the children of the evil one whom the devil sows among the righteous. The interpretation changes the emphasis of the parable so that it now refers to problems within the Christian community which are caused by πάντα τὰ σκάνδαλα καὶ τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν (all causes of sin and all evildoers).

⁷ M. Douglas, *Natural Symbols* (New York, 1982); cf. "Introduction: Thirty Years after Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic," in M. Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970), pp. xiii–xxxviii. Douglas relies heavily upon Evans-Pritchard's work here, especially his *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937), as she acknowledges. Her variables of "group" and "grid" allow her to remedy the "lack of predictive power" in his analysis; see Douglas (1970), p. xviii. For an application of her theory to Paul's problems in Galatia and Corinth, see J.H. Neyrey, *Paul in Other Words* (Louisville, 1990), pp. 181–217.

refers to the degree of exclusiveness, boundedness, and bonding. Douglas then plots a schematic representation of the possibilities of this model in terms of four quadrants which are formed by the intersection of a high-low continuum of these variables:



In a generalization about the fourth quadrant (D), where group is strong but grid is weak, Douglas sketches a profile which can serve as a starting point for our further analysis of the *Didache*, utilizing her model:

... small bounded enduring groups emerge, whether in sects withdrawing from the modern world or in little villages of remote cultivators in Africa or Central America. Within such groups, roles are ambiguous and undefined. Leadership is precarious. The group boundary is the main definer of roles: individuals class themselves either as members or strangers. Here the cosmos is slightly more complex. It is divided between good and bad, inside and outside. There is magical danger associated with emblems of boundary. Group members accuse deviants in their midst of allowing the outside evil to infiltrate. The accusations lead to fission of the group. This is a cosmos dominated by witchcraft and sorcery. It is subject to the vile, irrational behaviour of human agents of evil. It is preoccupied with rituals of cleansing, expulsion and re-drawing of boundaries. Its distinctive therapeutic system is based on the doctrine of the

essential goodness of that which belongs inside the body. It is an irrational cosmos since in it evil is taken to be a foreign danger, introduced by perverted or defective humans.⁸

While it is important that the model should not dictate what is to be found in the text, it can profitably alert the critic to possible clues for understanding it. We have seen that the community of the *Didache* is conscious of the agents of supernatural evil emerging from within.⁹ The model suggests that such a community would have a strongly defined and exclusive group profile with poorly defined and ambiguous structure and leadership roles. Rather than assume that this is so, this essay will examine these aspects of the text to test this hypothesis. If the hypothesis can be demonstrated, then it would allow for further deductions, for instance, with respect to signs of latent mechanisms in the text by which to overcome the problems of a "witch-believing society."

Strong Group in the Didache

Strong group boundaries are already suggested by the use of the Two Ways schema for the instruction of those who seek to enter the community (7.1). It suggests an absolute dichotomy between insiders and outsiders: "There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and there is great opposition¹⁰ between the two ways" (1.1). This opposition is not simply theoretical, but requires physical separation from unbelievers. The instructions command the new member to "flee from every evil deed/person and from everything/one like it/him/her" (3.1).¹¹ In what follows (3.2-6), the text sets a "hedge about the law" in rabbinic fashion, so that minor moral offenses are shown to lead to major ones: irritability to murder, lust to adultery, watching the omens to idolatry, lying to theft, grumbling to blasphemy,

⁸ Douglas (1982), pp. 103-104.

⁹ In the *Didache* the witch is the "internal enemy." Douglas (1970) distinguishes this from societies in which the witch is an "outsider" (pp. xxvi-xxvii). Seemingly our text further supports the deliniation of the witch as a "dangerous deviant," so that the function of witch belief is "to control deviants in the name of community values."

¹⁰ The Greek word διαφορά is here translated "opposition" or "contention" on the basis that the underlying concept reflects a Jewish Two Ways schema which is similar to that in 1QS 3.13-4.26, where the word used is כוּר. Cf. J.A. Draper, "Commentary on the *Didache* in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents" (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 25-26.

¹¹ The textual tradition is divided here. The Latin *Doctrina apostolorum* has *fili, fuge*

etc. According to *Did* 3.9, the community member is not to be joined to the proud (= non-members), but to the righteous and humble (= members). While members are not allowed to hate non-members (1.3–4; 2.7), they *are* to reprove them (οὐς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, 2.7) and to hate their conduct: “You shall hate all hypocrisy and everything which is not pleasing to the Lord” (4.12). “Hypocrisy” and “hypocrites” are code words which indicate Jewish opponents of the community (8.1–2).¹² Speaking of those people in the way of death, the text concludes: “May you be rescued/snatched away (ῥυσθείητε) from all of these people” (5.2). Clearly outsiders are characterized negatively and separation is emphasized.

On the other hand, strong internal community interaction is commanded. Community members are to be loved more than one’s life (2.7), indeed their presence is to be sought every day to “find rest in their words” (4.2). Members are to share their material possessions without reserve (1.5;¹³ 4.5–8) on the principle that those who share in spiritual things should share still more in material things (4.8).

This strong emphasis upon strict separation from non-members and warm intragroup interaction which we have seen in the Two Ways instruction can also be seen in the rest of the text. Members are not to fast at the same time as the “hypocrites,” nor are they to pray the same words (8.1–2). Those who have not been baptized are forbidden to share in the eucharistic meal of the community because “you shall not give what is holy to the dogs” (9.5). The eucharistic prayer after the meal is that the church should be ῥύσασθαι (rescued/snatched away) from every evil person/thing” on the one hand and “perfected in [God’s] love” on the other hand (10.5). In the apocalyptic chapter of the *Didache* the members are warned to be “frequently gathered together seeking the things which are necessary for your souls” (16.2), persevering in the face of general apostasy

ab homine malo et homine similitore, while POxy 1782 has τέκνον μου φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πράγματος ποιηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ, and both the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Epitome canonum sanctorum apostolorum* have ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ. These readings probably represent attempts to clarify the ambiguity of the text which is represented by H: τέκνον μου φεύγε ἀπὸ παντὸς ποιηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ.

¹² J.A. Draper, “Christian Self-Definition against the Hypocrites in *Didache* 8,” in E.H. Lovering, Jr. (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1992 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta, 1992), pp. 366–67.

¹³ In my thesis (1983) I argued that the instructions in 1.5 related to giving to outsiders (pp. 43–46), but in my analysis of *Did* 1.1–11.2 as initiation ritual, I have come to see it in relation to insiders.

(16.5). This twofold emphasis upon separation and community is characteristic of new religious movements which depend upon conversion, as has been demonstrated in the study of modern movements by A. Greil and D.R. Rudy, who describe the two aspects as "boundary control" and "intensive interaction."¹⁴

The model by Mary Douglas suggests that such a community would be "preoccupied with rituals of cleansing, expulsion and re-drawing of boundaries."¹⁵ This too is characteristic of the *Didache* community as reflected by the text. One aspect of this is the repeated instructions to members to engage in a public ritual of confession for sins. In the Two Ways instructions, novices are told: "You shall confess your transgressions in the church/assembly, and you shall not come to your prayer in an evil conscience" (4.14). The eucharist is ἅγιον (holy) and therefore exclusive (9.5). Likewise, in the instructions concerning the weekly eucharist the concern is for a pure sacrifice, and this requires that members confess their sins publicly before they share in the meal (προεξομολογησάμενοι, 14.1). Quarrels within the community are regarded as a defilement of the eucharist, so that those who are in open conflict are to be excluded temporarily from the communal meetings (14.2). Those who have wronged another member of the community are to be excluded from the fellowship until they repent (15.3).

The rules about the reception of Christians from outside of the community itself also reflect the same concerns. Rigid rules are provided to limit the stay of apostles (11.4–6) and other visitors (12.1–5), with tests to be applied in both cases in order to allow the community to identify impostors. Visitors are not allowed to remain more than one, two, or at need three days (12.2). The rules show a community that is suspicious of outsiders, even of the same faith, and a reluctance to allow them to settle in the community without testing and without setting conditions. This is an extension of the kind of boundary maintenance we have already observed in the community's relations with unbelievers. It reflects what Douglas calls "strong group."

The brief *Lasterkatalog* (vice list) of the Way of Life (2.1–6) also reflects an emphasis upon the boundaries of the body, "rules phrased

¹⁴ A. Greil and D.R. Rudy, "What Have We Learned from Process Models of Conversion? An Examination of 10 Studies," *SocFoc* 17 (1984), pp. 306–23; "Social Cocoons: Encapsulation and Identity Transformation Organizations," *SocInq* 54 (1984), pp. 260–78; cf. T. Robbins, *Cults, Converts and Charisma* (London, 1988).

¹⁵ Douglas (1982), p. 103.

to control entrances and exits.”¹⁶ The emphasis of the code is, on the one hand, upon the prohibition of things which penetrate the body or alienate its properties: adultery, sodomy, fornication, drinking philtres, procuring abortions, or exposing infants. On the other, it emphasizes the prohibition of those things which endanger the solidarity of the group: coveting, perjuring, evil speaking, and plotting against the neighbor. A similar pattern is found in 3.2–9.

Weak Grid in the Didache

The other variable in a “witch-believing” community, according to Douglas, is the weak grid, a situation in which “roles are ambiguous and undefined. Leadership is precarious.”¹⁷ Here the evidence in the *Didache* is very clear and has often been noted.¹⁸ The text mentions teachers, apostles, prophets, bishops, and deacons, and it indicates that there is tension among them (15.1–2), affirming them all without any resolution to the question of their relative functions and status.

An ambiguity of roles begins at a still more basic level than that of leadership, however. Such ambiguity affects every member of the community. Gentile novices are admitted into the community even if they cannot bear “the whole yoke of the Lord” (6.2). I have argued elsewhere that this refers to an acceptance of the full Torah, including circumcision.¹⁹ On the other hand, they must bear as much of the yoke as they can, and they will not be “perfect” until they take up the full yoke (6.2). The word τέλειος (perfect) is a technical term which refers to the fulfillment of the Torah according to the *halakah* of a particular group. This Jewish-Christian community remains flexible about the question of Torah, both circumcision and food laws, except to place a minimum requirement: “but keep strictly from food offered to idols, for it is the worship of dead gods” (6.3). This is, again, a purity law which prevents the penetration of the boundaries of the community from outside. Yet perfection remains the goal by which members can measure their progress and by which

¹⁶ M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (New York, 1966), p. 140.

¹⁷ Douglas (1982), p. 103.

¹⁸ Draper (1991), pp. 347–72.

¹⁹ Draper (1983), pp. 132–37; Draper (1992), pp. 362–67; cf. A. Stuiber, “Das ganze Joch des Herrn (Didache 6,2–3),” *StPatr* 4 (1961), pp. 323–29; D. Flusser, “Paul’s Jewish-Christian Opponents in the Didache,” in S. Shaked, D. Shulman and G.G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Gilgul* (Leiden, 1987), pp. 71–90.

they will be judged (16.2). Such a double standard must allow a subtle but pervasive ambiguity of status to exist within the community.

1. *Bishops and deacons*

Apostles, prophets, and perhaps teachers come from outside of the community (11.1–6; 13.1–2), so we shall begin our analysis of the ambiguity of leadership with the local leadership of bishops and deacons. Their position as chosen from local members of the community relates to the previous ambiguity concerning “perfection,” because, while their qualifications are spelled out in some detail, there is no requirement for bishops and deacons to be “perfect” (15.1–2). How then would a bishop or deacon who is not yet “perfect” stand in relation to a “perfect” member? Since bishops and deacons are local members of the community who are elected to their role (χειροτονήσατε, 15.1), one would expect many if not most of them to be gentiles by birth and so quite likely to be still not yet “perfect.” There would be a correspondingly greater likelihood that apostles, prophets, and perhaps teachers, who come from outside, would be Jews and hence “perfect.”

It is usually assumed that the instructions with respect to bishops and deacons in *Did* 15.1–2 represent a response to the gradual decline and disappearance of the charismatic ministry and a step in the *Katholisierungsprozess* (process of community institutionalization).²⁰ The instructions may more properly be seen as a response to the new situation which is caused by the intrusion of charismatic prophets into an existing structure of resident bishops and deacons. The qualities which are required for the office of bishop/overseer and deacon/servant are that such persons must be “meek (πραεὶς) and not lovers of money (ἀφιλαργύρους) and truthful (ἀληθεῖς) and tested (δεδοκιμασμένους)” (15.1). Georg Schöllgen has attempted to work back from these qualifications to the nature of the problem in the *Didache* community.²¹ He concludes that the offices of bishop and deacon had fallen into disrepute because of unworthy occupants and

²⁰ K. Niederwimmer, “Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus in Traditionsbereich der *Didache*,” *WSt NF* 11 (1977), pp. 145–67; cf. G. Kretschmar, “Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Ursprung frühchristlicher Askese,” *ZThK* 61 (1964), p. 37; F. Hahn, “Prophetie und Lebenswandel: Bemerkungen zu Paulus und zu zwei Texten der Apostolischen Vätern,” in H. Merklein (ed.), *Neues Testament und Ethik* (Freiburg, 1989), pp. 531–32.

²¹ Schöllgen (1986), pp. 18–19.

that this instruction is designed to correct the abuse of the office. Schöllgen has rightly shown that these qualities reflect the duties of the office. In two respects, however, the qualifications are in stark opposition to what is said of the prophets (and to what might, by extension, apply to teachers). The bishops and deacons must be ἀφιλαργύρους and δεδοκιμασμένους. Now, while apostles and prophets are specifically forbidden to solicit money in the exercise of their offices, prophets and teachers can expect to receive financial reward for their labors (13.1–7). The bishops and deacons evidently could not. The prophets may not be tested (11.7; though note 11.11), and although we are not told whether apostles and teachers may be tested, it can be assumed that they could not, if their office were seen to be ἐν πνεύματι (in the Spirit). Note, for instance, that the teacher must be honored ὡς κύριον (as the Lord), for wherever the things of the Lord are spoken, there is the Lord” (4.1). Bishops and deacons, by contrast, must be tested. They must prove themselves to be fit for office.

Since bishops and deacons were not financially supported by the community, this explains something more about the requirement that they be ἀφιλαργύρους. This qualification might be decoded to mean that these people must be of independent financial means and willing to share them. In other words, in the world of the Mediterranean basin they must be patrons of the community.²² They would be the wealthier members of the community, with houses big enough in which to meet, with resources for building and supplying food and wine for the eucharistic meal. What they could expect to receive by way of compensation in the world of patronage was honor:

Patron-client relations are social relationships between individuals based on a strong element of inequality and difference in power. The basic structure of the relationship is an exchange of different and very unequal resources. A patron has social, economic, and political resources that are needed by a client. In return, a client can give expressions of loyalty and honor that are useful for the patron.²³

Yet in the *Didache* community the patrons of the community are placed in an ambiguous position over against the prophets and teachers, who are their social and economic inferiors. These latter are finan-

²² H. Moxnes, “Patron-Client Relations in the New Community in Luke-Acts,” in J.H. Neyrey (ed.), *The Social World of Luke-Acts* (Peabody, 1991), pp. 241–68.

²³ Moxnes (1991), p. 242.

cially rewarded by the community. They are believed to have the Spirit, to be above the need for testing, and are most likely "perfect." The wealthier gentile members of the community, who were expected to be patrons, would, on the contrary, be in the least position to take the final steps of conversion to the Torah because of their ambivalent position in gentile society. This is to say that they could not easily fulfil their obligations as patrons and brokers of influence on behalf of the community and at the same time become full Jews. Some compromise would be essential.

It is not surprising then that the text indicates that at least some of the members of the community despised these patrons and, instead, deferred to the prophets and teachers. The instruction attempts to shore up the status of the patrons: "Therefore do not despise (ὑπερίδῃτε) them, for they themselves are your honored people (τετιμημένοι), together with the prophets and teachers" (15.2). Moxnes summarizes Dio Chrysostom's description of the motives of the rich for patronage:

One such motif was concern for general welfare. Desire for repute (*doxa*) and honor (*timē*) was a very important motive for patronage, so much so that the term "love of honor" (*philotimia*) developed the meaning of public munificence. The importance of public opinion and estimation similarly explains a third motif, fear of dislike or envy (*phthonos*) toward those whose prosperity was conspicuous. Honor was granted in the form of public recognition.²⁴

The brief study of Luke's gospel by Moxnes shows that the institution of patronage was still operative in the Christian community, as indeed the strategy of the Pauline mission would confirm.²⁵ A threat to the honor of the patrons of a community would pose a grave danger to the stability and viability of the community. Yet the language of honor and shame which is used in the *Didache* text indicates the existence of role ambiguity in this crucial aspect of the life of the community, since the honor of the patrons is to be shared with the prophets and teachers. Indeed, the force of the statement indicates

²⁴ Moxnes (1991), p. 250; cf. R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven, 1974), pp. 59–62.

²⁵ The values expressed by *philotimia* continue to be operative in modern Greek hospitality codes, although in a nuanced and ambivalent way; see M. Herzfeld, "As in Your Own House": Hospitality, Ethnography, and the Stereotype of Mediterranean Society," in D.D. Gilmore (ed.), *Honour and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean* (Washington, 1987), pp. 75–89 (esp. 80–81).

that the latter are receiving the prior honor and that this is to be shared now with the bishops and deacons. And while the qualifications of bishops and deacons include *πραεῖς* (humility), we can assume that a failure to honor the patrons would test this quality to the breaking point!

2. *Apostles*

The ambiguity of roles is also a feature of apostles in the *Didache* community. In the first place, it is under their authority that the instructions of the text are given, thus "The Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles." Whether "twelve" should stand here or in the shorter title, "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," is debatable since the tradition is divided.²⁶ In any case, the apostles clearly played a foundational role in the establishment of the community and determined the grounds on which gentiles were to be admitted. Yet the instructions in their present form make it impossible for apostles to play a current role in the life of the community. While they are to be received *ὡς κύριος* (as if they were the Lord himself), they may not stay more than a day or two if necessary (11.3–5). If they tried to stay longer, they were marked as false prophets. They were to be helped on their way with provisions for one day's journey only, but were strictly forbidden to ask for money (11.6).

I have argued elsewhere that 11.1–2 provides the key to the understanding of this anomaly.²⁷ The community had experience of those claiming to be apostles who had been part of the community, yet who had changed and taught a different teaching so as to destroy what the community considered fundamental, namely, the observation of the Torah (*ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκη ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλύσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε*). This situation reflects the struggle between the Jewish-Christian community and the Pauline mission. The original instructions enjoined that apostles should be received as the Lord who sent them. This is now redacted to limit severely the basis upon which such a reception was given. One night's visit would not allow the apostle to teach,²⁸ and the prohibition against the collection of money would prevent the kind of program which Paul had undertaken in his gentile communities (1 Cor

²⁶ J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), pp. 19–25; W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 15–17.

²⁷ Draper (1991), pp. 347–72.

²⁸ Schöllgen (1986), p. 12.

16:1-4; 2 Cor 9:1-15; Rom 15:22-33). It may be that the kind of instruction which is given here is what provokes Paul's outburst of frustration in 1 Cor 9:1-15. Whether one accepts this link to the controversy between Paul and his original sponsor, the church of Antioch, it can hardly be disputed that the instructions of *Did* 11.3-6 sound the death knell for the office of apostle. If these instructions were implemented, they would stop short of abolishing what was recognized to be an ancient and prestigious charismatic office, but would emasculate it.

It has been argued that the text reflects apostles as missionaries, forever traveling to new areas to spread the gospel.²⁹ The limitation of provisions to one day's journey makes this unlikely, however. What it means in effect is that the apostle is a person who always is going somewhere else. It makes sense if the office is envisaged as that of an ambassador from a central location en route to a specific destination, much as a Jewish *shaliach* would be. Such an apostle would carry letters with her/him from Jerusalem to the particular community of her/his embassy, which would include instructions to provide for her/him there for the duration of the mission (e.g., Acts 9:2; 15:23; 22:5; 28:21).³⁰ These instructions would prevent the activities of "freelance" apostles such as Paul, who acknowledged no authority for his apostolate other than the risen Lord—not even the earthly Jesus (e.g., Rom 1:5; 2 Cor 5:16; Gal 1:1, 11-12).³¹ On this premise, however, the office of apostle would be inseparably bound with Jerusalem, and would cease to have any relevance after the destruction of the city in C.E. 70. Paul's defense of his own apostolate in 2 Corinthians 10-11 upon the basis of divine authority (10:8; 12:1) and suffering would make most sense if the words "commending themselves" or "boasting," of which he accuses the "false apostles," refer to letters of authorization from Jerusalem.

For the purposes of this essay, we need only note that the instructions about the office of apostle are full of ambiguity. They honor the apostles "as the Lord" but effectively eliminate their ministry. After the death of James the Just and the disappearance of the Jerusalem leadership during the Jewish War, the office must have become redundant.

²⁹ Schöllgen (1986), p. 13; K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), pp. 32-33.

³⁰ Draper (1983), pp. 231-34; Draper (1991), pp. 347-72.

³¹ Cf. N. Taylor, *Paul, Antioch and Jerusalem* (Sheffield, 1992).

3. *Prophets*

It is in the office of prophet that the ambiguous role of community officials most obviously relates to the development of a “witch-believing” society. The basic premise of the instructions is that prophets are directly inspired by the Spirit, and so are beyond testing or examination (οὐ πειράσσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε). There is no description of what “speaking in the Spirit” actually involved, but it was clearly understood to be comprehensible, since a prophet might order a meal (11.9), teach (11.10), or ask for money (11.12) “in the Spirit.”³² To test prophets would be to test the Spirit and so to become guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, the unforgivable sin (11.7). On the other hand, “not everyone who speaks in the Spirit is a prophet” (11.8).³³ Someone who shows all the marks of speaking in the Spirit, and thus is outwardly indistinguishable from a true prophet, may indeed be a false prophet, and false prophets are agents of the world-deceiver (16.3–4). It is only by the possession of the opaque τρόπος τοῦ κυρίου (way of life of the Lord) that the true prophet can be known from the false one. Thus the text hints at the presence of testing, notwithstanding the prohibition against testing, which appears in 11.11 (πᾶς δὲ προφήτης, δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός). More will be said of this in what follows, but we should note here that this ambivalence about prophetic activity must approach paranoia when the community expects that a person might suddenly “turn and teach another teaching to destroy” (11.2).³⁴

In terms of the model by Douglas, the role of charismatic behavior is important for the analysis of the group. Societies with poorly defined group boundaries tend to see spirit-possession as beneficial and to extend the possibility of such experience to all members of the community. Societies with strongly defined group boundaries tend to view spirit-possession as dangerous, if potentially beneficial, and to

³² Cf. K. Hörmann, “Das ‘Reden im Geiste’ nach der Didache und dem Pastor Hermas,” *JMTh* 3 (1957), p. 139.

³³ Something of the same ambiguity is present in Paul, who affirms that the Spirit cannot be tested (ὁ δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνακρίνει πάντα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται, 1 Cor 2:15), while at the same time affirming that there is a testing of spirits (διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, 1 Cor 12:10; cf. 14:29; 1 Thess 5:20–21). Paul resolves the ambiguity, however, through his argument that the testing itself is the work of the Spirit; see Hahn (1989), pp. 527–31.

³⁴ Hahn (1989) attributes the eventual eclipse of prophecy in the church to this ambiguity of roles and to the failure of the church to establish clear criteria for discernment between true and false prophecy (pp. 536–37). Montanism could not be confronted in terms of its truth or falsity, but only suppressed.

limit it to a specialist class. This prophetic class is viewed ambiguously:

Prophets . . . tend to arise in peripheral areas of society, and prophets tend to be shaggy, unkempt individuals. They express in their bodies the independence of social norms which their peripheral origins inspire in them. . . . Everywhere, social peripherality has the same physical forms of expression, bizarre and untrimmed.³⁵

In contrast to Paul's attitude, which sees charismatic gifts as potentially available to all members of the community (1 Cor 12:7) and would allow all members to prophesy (1 Cor 14:24, 31), the *Didache* sees the possession of the charism of prophecy as limited to a specific group. Like prophets in the Nuer society, which Douglas cites in her study, this group of prophets in the *Didache* stands outside of the structure of normal society and has a different moral standard, so that the behavior of such prophets can be judged only by God and not by ordinary members of the community. Their behavior may well have been bizarre: "But every prophet who has been tested and is true, who does a worldly mystery of the church, but does not teach others to do what he himself does, shall not be judged by you. For he has his judgment with God, because the prophets of old did exactly the same" (11.11). This seems most likely to refer to the kind of unusual prophetic acts and behavior which characterized the OT prophets like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which could potentially scandalize the community.³⁶

A further element of ambiguity concerns the provisioning and financing of prophets. On the one hand, the prophets are not allowed to ask for food or money "in the Spirit" except for the benefit of others (11.9, 12). Yet the prophet can expect, indeed require, the

³⁵ Douglas (1982), p. 85.

³⁶ Many commentators on the *Didache* take this as a reference to "spiritual marriage," for which there is not a single piece of evidence. It is better understood from the perspective of Mt 13:10-17, where Matthew greatly expands the material in Mk 4:10-12. The disciples have been given the power "to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," the plural indicating that Matthew here understands something which is different from "the mystery of the kingdom of God." This is then specifically related by him to the call of Isaiah to prophesy in Is 6:9-10, which is cited. The theme of the prophecy is then repeated: "Blessed are your eyes that see and your ears that hear. For truly I say to you that many prophets and righteous people have yearned to see the things you see and did not see, and to hear the things which you hear and did not hear." In other words, the "mysteries" are both seen and heard by Matthew's community. This is probably the situation which lies behind the *Didache* text also.

community to provide both food and money in terms of the firstfruits of all their produce and goods (13.1–7). Admittedly, this is modified by the phrase ὡς ἂν σοι δόξη (as seems best to you), but since the prophets are described as the high priests of the community, this discretion is limited. The prophets have taken over the OT commands concerning support for the sacrificial cult. Apostles, bishops, and deacons can expect no such support. Yet the prophets come from outside of the community, from the social and economic periphery. Their gifts are exciting and mediate the Spirit, but they are also potentially dangerous and subversive.

It is difficult to know who the president at the eucharistic meal of the *Didache* community would ordinarily have been. Judging by Jewish parallels, we would expect it to be the senior member of the local community, the equivalent of the ἀρχισυνάγωγος (leader of the synagogue), and thus the ἐπίσκοπος (bishop) of the *Didache*. The present text, however, allows the prophets to preside at their own discretion and in their own way, overriding, if they choose, the eucharistic prayers which are laid down by the text (10.7).³⁷ This again constitutes an ambiguity of roles, since 11.1–2 makes the instructions unchangeable, but 10.7 opens the possibility for wholesale change.³⁸

The ambiguities concerning the role of the prophet in the text seem to be the result of the emergence of this body of people at a certain period of the community's existence. Bishops and deacons would always have been local leaders of the community, taken as they are from the model of the synagogue. Adolf von Harnack sketched a scenario of a threefold charismatic ministry of wandering apostles, prophets, and teachers at the earliest phase of the church's development, which gradually was replaced by resident bishops and deacons as visiting charismatics became corrupt.³⁹ The threefold ministry of

³⁷ Wengst (1984), p. 36; G. Schöllgen, "Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre," in G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991), p. 52; K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), p. 205. Niederwimmer allows for the possibility that the passage refers to a right to add extra prayers to the text of chapters 9–10, which is the position that is taken by A. Milavec, "Distinguishing True and False Prophets: The Protective Wisdom of the *Didache*," *J ECS* 2 (1994), pp. 117–36.

³⁸ Rordorf and Tuillier (1978) link this right of the prophets to "eucharistize as they wish" with their designation as "high priests" of the community (pp. 52–53), which surely is an anachronism.

³⁹ A. von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries* (New York, 1908), pp. 319–68; *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries* (New York, 1910), pp. 40–82.

von Harnack is a synthetic construction, however, at least for the *Didache* which is his main source, since the three are never mentioned together⁴⁰ and the indications in the text are that apostles have ceased to function within the community before the prophets emerge as dominant figures.⁴¹ The thesis by von Harnack of the priority of an itinerant charismatic trio which gradually was replaced by settled local ministers has continued to dominate the discussion of Christian origins,⁴² but remains problematic and certainly cannot be substantiated from the text of the *Didache*.

Apostles are figures who once played a major part in the life of the community but who suffered a double fate: first, they became discredited by the "freelance" activity of certain persons who advocated a different teaching on the Torah εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι (so as to destroy it); and secondly, they disappeared altogether with the destruction of Jerusalem as a center of authority for the community. Prophets began to arrive in the community from outside, about the same time as the apostles disappeared. In a certain sense they assume the role of apostles, no longer coming with specific authority from Jerusalem, but with charismatic qualification in the Spirit. The sole, authenticating criterion which is available to the local congregation is that the prophets possess τρόπους τοῦ κυρίου (lifestyle of the Lord). But what were these identifying marks of the lifestyle of the Lord, and how could the community have access to them in

⁴⁰ A. de Halleux, "Les ministères dans la *Didachè*," *Irénikon* 53 (1980), pp. 5–29.

⁴¹ It seems that von Harnack (1910) operates from a broadly Hegelian model in which the opposition of "charismatic" and "official" (which reflects a conflict between "part" and "whole") eventually issues in *Frühkatholizismus* (the early institutionalism of the church), and in which the "charismatic" is the primary "thesis": "The whole constitutional history of the Church can be represented with the conflict of these two powers [whole and part] as its framework. There is, secondly, the tension between 'Spirit' and office, charisma and legislative regulation, the tension between the inspired men and officials, those pre-eminent for personal religion on the one hand, and its professional representatives on the other. . . . The tension in the last resort is always the same, and it is not a question of simple antithesis, but of elements whose tendency towards disruption is indeed just as strong as their tendency towards cohesion and their capacity for passing over into one another" (p. 42). This is strikingly reminiscent of Max Weber's formulation of the routinization of charisma; see M. Weber, *Economy and Society* (Berkeley, 1968), pp. 241–54; 541–56; 1111–57.

⁴² E.g., Kretschmar (1964), pp. 27–67; G. Theissen, "Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum," *ThK* 70 (1973), pp. 245–71; *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentum* (Tübingen, 1979), pp. 3–34; *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1982), pp. 27–67; Niederwimmer (1977), pp. 145–67.

order to judge? What would constitute the body of tradition and what the court of appeal?

The question relates to the *content* of their prophecy. This touches upon a long-standing debate which was initiated above all by Bultmann's contention that many of the sayings of Jesus were created by prophets who spoke in the name of the risen and glorified Son of Man:

The Church drew no distinction between such utterances by Christian prophets and the sayings of Jesus in the tradition, for the reason that even the dominical sayings in the tradition were not the pronouncements of a past authority, but sayings of the risen Lord, who is always a contemporary for the Church.⁴³

Käsemann continued this claim that Christian prophets in Palestine immediately after the resurrection identified Jesus with the imminently returning Son of Man in Daniel and spoke in his name both "sentences of holy law" and judgments of *jus talionis*.⁴⁴ This idea of free creation has been rightly critiqued by Neugebauer⁴⁵ and Cothenet,⁴⁶ though Cothenet goes too far in his acceptance of Gerhardsson's theory of memorization⁴⁷ and in his acceptance at face value of Paul's statements about his role as apostle. Paul's apostolic authority was a matter of dispute. Likewise, the ability of the Twelve (also a matter of dispute) to control prophets in local communities must be questioned. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the prophets created the sayings of Jesus *ex nihilo*. Rather, their function would have stood in a dialectical tension with the tradition, modifying, applying, and adding to it in the light of the changing circumstances and needs of the community.

4. Teachers

Not much can be said about teachers since the text gives little concrete information about this group of officials, at least on the surface.⁴⁸ Ulrich Neymeyr has argued that the teachers of the *Didache*

⁴³ R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (New York, 1972), pp. 127–28.

⁴⁴ E. Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London, 1964), pp. 169–95; *New Testament Questions of Today* (London, 1969), pp. 66–137.

⁴⁵ F. Neugebauer, "Geistsprüche und Jesulogien," *ZNW* 53 (1962), pp. 218–28.

⁴⁶ É. Cothenet, "Prophétisme et ministère d'après le Nouveau Testament," *Maison-Dieu* 107 (1971), pp. 29–50.

⁴⁷ B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* (Lund, 1961). See the critique by W.H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel* (Philadelphia, 1983), pp. 8–14.

⁴⁸ H.-A. Stempel, however, makes the figure of the teacher central to the composition of the *Didache* in his argument that the figure reflects the author's conscious-

were settled local officials who enjoyed the financial support of the community (13.2).⁴⁹ He argues that this right, long enjoyed by the teachers, was then extended to the prophets (13.1). Georg Schöllgen has opposed this thesis primarily upon the basis of 11.1–2, which he argues can only apply to wandering teachers.⁵⁰ Schöllgen is right to reject Neymeyr's argument that this passage can refer to prophets, because their characteristic mark is their possession of the Spirit and not teaching. But Neymeyr's argument that 11.1–2 forms a kind of "foreword" to 11.3ff. is not so easily rejected if it can be established that the original *περὶ δέ* heading of 11.3 referred only to apostles, and that the reference to prophets was interpolated into the text at the time that the instructions concerning prophets was added, as I have argued elsewhere.⁵¹ The "foreword" then is a deliberate modification of the instructions about apostles which follow in the light of new developments within the community, namely, the "apostasy" of leading apostles of the community with respect to the issue of Torah.

On the other hand, the teachers are grouped together with the prophets on two occasions. In 13.2 the right of provision which is given to prophets who settle in the community is extended to teachers. Here Schöllgen's argument should be preferred to that of Neymeyr. It is the right that is won by the prophets which is being extended to teachers and not the reverse. Then again, in 15.2 the teachers are grouped with prophets as those who already are honored, in contrast to the bishops and deacons who are in danger of being despised. There is nothing to indicate that the teachers were wandering teachers. Indeed, it is hard to see how sustained teaching could be done if the two to three day maximum stay which is allowed for outside visitors were to be enforced (12.2). Nevertheless, the grouping of teachers with prophets indicates that this group was regarded as participating in their charismatic ministry, in contrast to the bishops and deacons. As has already been mentioned, the teachers who instructed the novices were regarded as mediators of the presence of the Lord in a special way: "My child, remember the one who speaks the Word of God to you night and day, and honor that

ness; see Stempel, "Der Lehrer in der 'Lehre der Zwölf Apostel'," *VigChr* 34 (1980), pp. 209–17; cf. I.H. Henderson, "Didache and Orality in Synoptic Comparison," *JBL* 111 (1992), pp. 286–87.

⁴⁹ Neymeyr (1989), pp. 139–55.

⁵⁰ Schöllgen (1991), pp. 19–26.

⁵¹ Draper (1991), pp. 348–54.

person as the Lord. For wherever the things of the Lord are spoken, there the Lord himself is present" (4.1).

It is significant that our analysis of the text of the *Didache* matches the conclusion of Eugene Boring, which is made upon the basis of his analysis of NT texts, that "prophets appear to be quite similar to teachers," though not identical:

Like the prophets, teachers are often regarded as charismatics, who do not simply function on the basis of native gifts or acquired learning but are constituted as teachers by the Holy Spirit. . . . That our sources are far from unanimous in this would suggest that teaching was not regularly seen as a charismatic function, but in some streams of early Christianity this was the case. All prophets were charismatics, but not all teachers. But charisma *per se* did not distinguish prophets from teachers. Prophets and teachers are often closely associated in our sources. . . . Among recent writers there seems to have been a fresh perception of the way the functions of prophecy and teaching shade into each other, with the result that the prophet is now seen as much more a teaching figure than formerly. All the above discussion indicates that the picture of teachers who hand on the firmly-guarded tradition of the sayings of Jesus in one context, while charismatic prophets deliver their inspired, ephemeral revelations from the risen Jesus in another, is based on fantasy. The horizontal, traditioning function of the church's ministry operated conjointly with the vertical, revelatory aspect. Prophets and tradents were partners engaged in a complementary and mutually-enriching ministry of the word; prophet and tradent were sometimes the same person.⁵²

Boring's subtle transition from the use of the title "teacher" to that of "tradent" in the above passage must be challenged, however. His own argument indicates that prophets are, like teachers, "tradents" in important aspects. It is better to retain the term "teacher."

In the *Didache* at least, prophet and teacher are opposed to bishop and deacon in a way that indicates the opposition of charismatic to non-charismatic leadership of the community. The structure of the community is fraught with the ambiguity of roles. We began with the observation that the community of the *Didache* has the profile of a "witch-believing" society. We have demonstrated that this profile is matched by what Douglas calls "high group" and "low grid." We are now in a position to see what might follow from this characterization.

⁵² M.E. Boring, *Sayings of the Risen Jesus* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 78–79.

III. MODES OF RESOLUTION OF ROLE AMBIGUITY IN A WITCH-BELIEVING SOCIETY

Douglas observes that the witch has a social function in a "witch-believing" society, but one which is limited and limiting:

In these small and simple social structures, with very little differentiation of roles, techniques for distancing, regulating and reconciling are little developed. The witch doctrine is used as the idiom of control, since it pins blame for misfortune on trouble-makers and deviants. The accusation is a righteous demand for conformity. In a community in which overt conflict cannot be contained, witchcraft fears are used to justify expulsion and fission. These are communities in which authority has very weak resources. Beyond a certain size, they cannot persist without introducing sharper definition into the structure of roles. Only certain limited targets can be achieved by their low level of organisation. Expulsion of dissidents is one method of control, fission of the group a more drastic one. In either case the group remains small and disorganised.⁵³

At some stage in the development of the *Didache* community there was a severe internal conflict which could not be resolved. Certain leaders of the community, apostles according to my analysis of 11.1–2,⁵⁴ were expelled over the issue of the Torah. This may have led to a split in the community itself when some members followed these expelled leaders. The expulsion came to be justified upon the basis of demonic powers which were at work in the community and which acted to subvert it from within. The troubles inside the community were projected onto a cosmic eschatological backdrop, so that the rejection of the Torah by the part of the community which had been expelled was seen as part of a general increase of lawlessness and false prophecy prior to the emergence of the antichrist.

Yet this temporary resolution of the conflict, which promoted a "witch-believing" society, stifled the growth of the community. As Douglas observes, "beyond a certain size, they cannot persist without introducing sharper definition into the structure of roles." The central ambiguity in the present state of the text revolves both around the ambiguity of the charismatic leadership, which seems to have come into the community from outside, and around the consequent overshadowing of the settled, local leadership of bishops and deacons, who were patrons of the community and hence were likely to

⁵³ Douglas (1982), p. 114.

⁵⁴ Draper (1991), pp. 347–72.

have been wealthier and better educated than the charismatics. Are there signs in the text of the way in which this ambiguity was resolved and the community was enabled to continue to grow and evolve?

I believe that Max Weber's analysis of the opposition between what he calls "prophets" and "priests" can be helpful here.⁵⁵ He argues that the opposition between charismatic prophet and settled, traditional priest ensures the formation of a corpus of teaching, whether oral or written, since the priest's material survival depends upon it.⁵⁶ Catherine Bell⁵⁷ develops Weber's model in terms of ritual practice, pointing out the power dynamic which is involved in a shift from an oral to a written ritual procedure:

The codification of ritual procedures in textual form involves strategies of ritualization different from those effective in primarily oral societies. Indeed, the very act of putting ritual practices into such a format constitutes a tactical recasting of the source and type of authority invoked in ritualization. In general, such textual codification involves a shift from the authority of memory, seniority, and practical expertise . . . to the authority of those who control access to and interpretation of the texts.⁵⁸

In other words, one might chart the following possible trajectory. If the words of the prophets, which were uttered in the ritual of the community, were to be collected into an oral corpus and finally to be written down because they were regarded as authoritative for the community, the process would, quite ironically, diminish the power and independence of the prophets themselves. Their charismatic status would pass to those who collected in oral form and finally recorded the tradition, that is, the teachers, and then would pass further still to the settled leadership of the community who would become guardians of the tradition. By a final turn of the wheel, the written tradition of the charismatic prophets could be used as a yardstick by which to measure and control all future utterances.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ J.A. Draper, "Weber, Theissen and the Wandering Charismatics of the Didache" (Anaheim, 1989); cf. M.J. Buss, "The Social Psychology of Prophecy," in J.A. Emerton (ed.), *Prophecy* (Berlin, 1980), p. 7.

⁵⁶ Weber (1968), p. 457.

⁵⁷ C. Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 130–40.

⁵⁸ Bell (1992), p. 136.

⁵⁹ Bell describes a comparable process in fifth-century China in which the codification and ritualization of the textual tradition by the Taoist master Lu Hsiu-ching enables the liturgical masters to control the popular cult and institutionalize the mediation of the life-giving *ch'i*; see C. Bell, "Ritualization of Texts and Textualization of Ritual in the Codification of Taoist Liturgy," *HR* 27 (1988), pp. 366–92. So too,

This is precisely the scenario which is sketched by Werner Kelber in his penetrating analysis of the transition from oral to textual tradition in the Gospel of Mark.⁶⁰ The transmission of tradition in an oral society is not by "the anonymous matrix of community" but by individual performers:

Community . . . does form a crucial aspect of oral communication, but not in the sense of obliterating individual performers. Spoken words enter into a social contract, thrive on communal response, and, if they are to be successful, share in and play on collective interests. But this functional and essential need of orality to lean on social life in no way dispenses with the individual performer of oral compositions.⁶¹

This gave the charismatic, oral performer immense power, since s/he spoke with the voice and authority of Jesus, realizing his presence in the community. This "oral christology" and problems which were associated with its charismatic proponents lead Mark to textualize the tradition, simultaneously recording, critiquing, and discrediting it in the form of the disciples and family of Jesus and thus controlling it:⁶²

In narrating the exclusion of family, the rejection of the prophets, the growing and incorrigible incomprehension of the disciples, and in making the story culminate in the definitive rupture of oral communication, the author has narrated the justification for his own written narrative. The story self-authenticates its new, redemptive medium over against the prevailing authorities of oral transmission. It is a story in which its own medium history is deeply implicated.⁶³

It seems that the beginning of this process of textualization may be observed in the *Didache* also.

In the case of the prophets of the *Didache* we have a body of charismatic figures who may not be tested or judged, except on the basis of their possession of the *τρόπους τοῦ κυρίου* (11.8). This is usually taken to refer to an ascetic lifestyle.⁶⁴ There is, however, no evidence that the prophets were peripatetic figures. The only

Clifford Geertz describes the process by which social ambiguity in a rapidly changing post-revolutionary Bali has led to the collection and codification of religious texts by the aristocracy in a way which stabilizes their position of power; Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), pp. 170–89.

⁶⁰ Kelber (1983). I am grateful to Aaron Milavec in our discussion of this essay for drawing my attention back to Kelber's work.

⁶¹ Kelber (1983), p. 28.

⁶² Kelber (1983), pp. 91–131.

⁶³ Kelber (1983), p. 130.

⁶⁴ E.g., Hörmann (1957), pp. 139–41; Kretschmar (1964); Niederwimmer (1977), pp. 145–57; Theissen (1978), pp. 9–13.

evidence of the text is that a prophet comes from outside of the community and wishes to settle there (13.1). If wandering penury were the hallmark of the true prophet, how could a true prophet remain a true prophet if s/he settled in the community and received a stipend from the firstfruits of the community?

Boring's analysis of prophecy in the NT indicates that it was not so much the way of life itself which marked the prophet, but the repetition, interpretation, and addition to the words of Jesus, often in the light of the OT.⁶⁵ Boring has linked this with the emergence of the tradition of the Sayings Gospel Q. In this he seems to be right. There is not necessarily a contradiction between charismatic prophecy and traditional material, as prophecy in the OT shows. Rather, the prophet may re-interpret traditional material in the light of new and changing circumstances.⁶⁶ The common assumption that the historian can know nothing about the contents of the ecstatic utterances of the prophets in the *Didache* when they λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι (speak in the Spirit) may be mistaken.⁶⁷ The τρόπους τοῦ κυρίου may refer not so much to the actual behavior of the prophets as to their possession of traditions about Jesus, though their behavior must conform to that "way of life" also.⁶⁸ The prophets come from outside of the community, bringing with them traditions about Jesus. When they speak in the Spirit, they speak the words of the Lord. This is what distinguishes a true prophet from a false prophet.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Boring (1982).

⁶⁶ Cf. Buss (1980), pp. 6–7.

⁶⁷ Hans Seeliger argues that the apocalyptic traditions in *Didache* 16 preserve the preaching of the prophets for the benefit of those communities which had no prophets, thus to enable them to discern false prophecy; see H.R. Seeliger, "Erwägungen zu Hintergrund und Zweck des apokalyptischen Schlusskapitels der *Didache*," *StPatr* 21 (1989), pp. 191–92. He does not see, however, that the same need to discern false prophecy would be present even in communities which did have prophets.

⁶⁸ Mt 7:15–20 might be taken as evidence for the life-style of the prophet as a test. This too depends upon inference, however, since only the word καρπός (fruit) is used. Of course, this passage is followed by two passages on doing Jesus' words (7:21–27), which seem to strengthen the possibility that a life-style is the mark of the true prophet.

⁶⁹ Interestingly, Seeliger (1989) comes to a related idea in his study of the apocalyptic tradition in *Didache* 16. According to him, the apocalyptic tradition formed a major component of the prophetic preaching, and this was established in the conclusion for the benefit of those communities which did not have prophets available, in view of the danger of false prophets. The apocalyptic material thus preserves the basic outlines of the prophetic preaching. Seeliger, however, holds to the traditional view that it was the ascetic life-style only which distinguished between the true and false prophet (pp. 191–92).

This also results in a further ambivalence. How can the community tell a genuine word of the Lord from a false one? It begins to accumulate a corpus of sayings of the Lord against which to judge them. It is thus no accident that the instructions concerning the prophets, which are inserted into the more ancient instructions concerning apostles, are prefaced by an instruction to act in this way κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὕτω ποιήσατε (according to the ordinance of the gospel, 11.3). The emergence of prophets stimulates the emergence of text, at first oral and then written. Likewise the final statement of the instructions, before the concluding apocalypse, subordinates all the life of the community to the gospel: "And your prayers and almsgivings and all your deeds, do in this way as you have it in the gospel of our Lord" (15.4). Gradually the whole life of the community, including what has been regulated by the *Didache* itself, is placed under the accumulating text of the gospel. Indeed, the process of collecting together the gospel tradition which is mediated by the prophets can be seen at work in the text itself. The Jesus tradition is inserted into the Two Ways (1.3–6) and into the description of baptism (8.1–3). The instructions of the *Didache* in turn influence the evolution of the gospel tradition so that hints and echoes and, indeed, whole phrases of its rules are subsumed into the tradition⁷⁰ and the structure of the collected Jesus tradition of the Sayings Gospel Q in the gospels may reflect a communal *Sitz im Leben* (life setting) which is preserved in the *Didache*.⁷¹

Douglas observes that "the only way in which a witch-dominated cosmology can be transformed is by a change at the level of social organisation."⁷² The emergence first of oral and then of written text provided the organizational change by which the community of the *Didache* overcame the severe problems that were left behind by the quarrel over the Torah. The ambiguity of roles that is so clear in the instructions of the *Didache* is transformed by the emergence of an authoritative text, which restores the equilibrium between the charismatic figures and the settled local leadership. In the end the gospel text would eclipse the charismatic prophets altogether, just as it would eclipse the *Didache* itself. For if everything is to be done ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (as you have in the gospel of our

⁷⁰ E.g., *Did* 11.1–2 in Mt 5:17–20; Draper (1991), pp. 356–60.

⁷¹ E.g., *Did* 1.3–6; 16; Draper (1992), pp. 1–21.

⁷² Douglas (1982), p. 121.

Lord, 15.4), then there would be no need any longer for either prophets or a separate community rule.

IV. SOME HISTORICAL SUGGESTIONS

In his important study of prophecy in the NT, Boring investigated the contention of the form critics, Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Dibelius, that prophets who speak in the name of the risen Lord formulated most ("fluid tradition") or some ("controlled tradition") of the Jesus tradition.⁷³ Boring challenges any new assertions to meet three requirements: they must provide concrete evidence for their hypotheses; they must study the relation of the prophets to the tradition process; and they must use sources beyond the synoptic material itself, as well as methods in addition to form criticism.⁷⁴ The present study goes some distance to meet Boring's criteria, utilizing the evidence of the *Didache* and the tools of social anthropology. Since the synoptic material, and the Synoptic Gospel Q especially in recent years, has been the subject of extensive study, it might seem foolish to venture to relate our conclusions to that contested field. Yet perhaps suggestions which arise from a different approach may be helpful to those who wrestle with the more complex field of the NT.

In the first place, the *Didache* envisages prophets who arrive from outside of the community, at a time when apostles are disappearing or have already disappeared, and who seek to settle there. Their claim to speak in the Spirit and their possession of dynamic oral traditions about Jesus give them authority and status in their new community which is beyond challenge. Challenge would be blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Their status is such that they are entitled to receive the firstfruits of all the goods and money of members of the community. In this they come to share, seemingly at a secondary stage, with the teachers. The charismatic ministry of these two groups threatens to eclipse the honor which is due to the relatively rich and educated patrons of the community, those who expect to exercise leadership and authority within the community. Prophets are even at liberty to preside at the cultic meal and to use their own words.

In the second place, this status is not without its problems. The

⁷³ Boring (1982), pp. 1-8.

⁷⁴ Boring (1982), pp. 8-14.

Didache recognizes that not all who “speak in the Spirit” are genuine prophets. There is indeed a need to have a test by which the true can be discerned from the false. Some people who claim to be prophets are abusing their position in order to demand food and money. They are liable to bizarre and unsettling behavior. What is offered by the text as the criterion by which to test prophecy is the *τρόπος τοῦ κυρίου*. This cannot be equated directly and exclusively with a life of wandering asceticism,⁷⁵ since the text allows prophets to settle and receive the firstfruits, even money, clothes, and possessions (*ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος*, 13.7).⁷⁶ It should rather be taken as a reference to a life in accordance with sayings and traditions of Jesus, which prophets were expected to pronounce in the Spirit.

There is a similar tradition in Matthew’s gospel, where the true prophet is known by her/his fruit (7:15–20), which reflects her/his true nature. This “fruit” is not simply behavior, as the parallel in Mt 12:33–37 shows. There the fruit is connected with the mouth: “For you will know the tree by the fruit. Generation of vipers, how are you able to speak good things being evil! For out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaks” (12:33–34). The idea is that the internal disposition of the heart flows into speech. In the *Didache* this fruit is specifically connected with the life-style of Jesus, the traditions of what Jesus said and did. These traditions are collected orally at first and later are recorded by the teachers whose status seems to be associated with that of the prophets. This collected prophetic material, which consisted of sayings and traditions of Jesus, then forms a control mechanism over the prophets themselves. It also comes to be applied to other areas of the cultic life of the community, for instance, to the admission of novices, relations with non-Christian Jewish opponents, prayers, and alms. The needs of the community influence the way in which the material is collected and passed along.

The *Didache* seems to presuppose a large population center with significant numbers of Christians, since it envisages numbers of prophets and teachers who wish to settle in it and are able to subsist on

⁷⁵ As opposed to the view of Kretschmar (1964), pp. 33–34.

⁷⁶ Hahn (1989) rashly argues that the question is “*leicht zu beantworten*” in the context of the *Didache*, namely, that it refers to the Way of Life as the measure of conduct (p. 533). Since, however, the Way of Life is a basic catechesis for members of the community, it could hardly serve as a particular test for prophets; see Draper (1992), pp. 362–77.

its firstfruits. It also presupposes a large number of ordinary Christians who seek to settle in the community, some with a trade and some without.⁷⁷ Both of these circumstances point to an urban origin⁷⁸ and not to some remote rural area as often is argued.⁷⁹ It is a Jewish-Christian community in origin, which is oriented towards the conversion and initiation of gentiles.⁸⁰ It settles the question of the Torah by allowing gentiles to be admitted without their acceptance of the full Torah, but only as much of it as they can bear. At the very least, they must abstain from food offered to idols. They were, on the other hand, expected to keep as much of the Torah as they could, and to strive continually to improve upon this to reach "perfection." My own preference of location is for Antioch after the expulsion of Paul as the site which best fits this situation. The closeness of the *Didache* to Matthew's gospel, however, means that the question is to some extent tied to the origin of that text.

The obvious questions seem to be: Why did the apostles stop coming? Where did the prophets come from and why? Where did they get their knowledge of the *τρόπους τοῦ κυρίου*? How does this relate to the Sayings Gospel Q? The text suggests that apostles stopped coming partly because of the rules which made it impossible for "free-lance apostles" to teach or to receive support for missionary work beyond the community.⁸¹ If we are correct in the suggestion that the

⁷⁷ There is plentiful evidence for a drift of peasants, poor, and craftsmen from the rural areas to the cities, where they sought relatives and co-nationals; see MacMullen (1974), pp. 85–86.

⁷⁸ Cf. G. Schöllgen, "Die *Didache*—ein frühes Zeugnis für Landgemeinden?" *ZNW* 76 (1985), pp. 140–43. Ramsay MacMullen (1974) graphically depicts the contrast between the rural and urban areas of the ancient Mediterranean. There was little or no slack in the rural economy, whose surplus was siphoned off by the urban areas. If MacMullen's picture is correct, it is inconceivable that the *Didache* originated in a rural community. Sjøberg's model of the preindustrial city would support the same conclusion; see G. Sjøberg, *The Pre-industrial City* (New York, 1960).

⁷⁹ E.g., A. von Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 168–70; R. Knopf, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel. Die zwei Clemensbriefe* (Tübingen, 1920), pp. 3, 31, 34; Niederwimmer (1977), p. 153; E.G. Jay, "From Presbyter-Bishops to Bishops and Presbyters," *SecCent* 1 (1981), pp. 127–28. Ultimately, Niederwimmer (1989) allows some validity for Schöllgen's argument with respect to a small town, but continues to deny the possibility of a large city like Antioch without providing solid grounds for this position (p. 80).

⁸⁰ This is the focus of my forthcoming book, *The Holy Vine of David: Jewish-Christian Initiation in the Didache*.

⁸¹ The kind of situation which is envisaged here matches the scenario that is sketched by Taylor (1992) in his convincing study of the relationship between Paul, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

text would still allow direct missions by those persons who were endorsed by that center of authority which the community had originally honored ("teaching of the Lord to the gentiles through the twelve apostles"), then apostles would cease to be a reality when that center of authority disappeared. Here the probability would be that Jerusalem once functioned as this center of authority, but had been removed by its fall in the Roman War against the Jews (C.E. 66–70) and the dispersal of the Jerusalem church.

Since prophets are envisaged as coming from outside the community in numbers and seeking to settle, this suggests a further dislocation in the region. Since the prophets are connected with a knowledge of the Jesus tradition, according to the above analysis, this suggests that they came from an area where the Jesus tradition was already circulating in a fluid form. Galilee would be the most likely area in which the oral tradition circulated most strongly. I would like to suggest that the Roman War against the Jews resulted not only in the disappearance of the Jerusalem church, but also in the dislocation of local communities in Galilee and the persecution of leading Christians there by Jewish nationalists.⁸² The prophets in our text would then be leading Christian refugees from Galilee who are seeking asylum among large Christian groups in urban centers.⁸³ Their knowledge of traditions about Jesus is what secures their entry and their status among their host communities. The resultant tensions and ambiguities in these communities, however, stimulates the collection and

⁸² Josephus describes the devastation which was visited by the Roman troops under Placidus when they "pacified" Galilee in the War: "... the Romans, enraged at [Josephus'] enterprise, never ceased, night or day, to devastate the plains and to pillage the property of the country-folk, invariably killing all capable of bearing arms and reducing the inefficient to servitude. Galilee from end to end became a scene of fire and blood; from no misery, no calamity was it exempt. ..." (Josephus *JW* 3.62–63; cf. 3.110–11).

⁸³ The apocalypses of the gospel tradition seem to envisage such a situation of refugees in Mt 10:23: ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν. This may be a development of the tradition in Mk 13:14, but it is notable that Matthew, who has introduced it into the context of the mission of the twelve, has replaced the idea of "fleeing to the mountains" with that of "fleeing from city to city"; cf. the critique of Gerd Theissen's famous "wandering charismatics" hypothesis which was offered by R.A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence* (Minneapolis, 1987), pp. 228–31. Antioch, with its large Jewish population, would seem to be a natural destination for such refugees from Galilee. An incident (ca. 40 C.E.) that is recounted in Malalas *Chron* 10.244–45, which has been recently analyzed by Stephen Patterson, seems to imply close contacts between the Jewish communities in Galilee and Antioch; see S.J. Patterson, "Jews, Greeks, and Christians or Why Paul Failed at Antioch" (Kansas City, 1991).

recording of the Jesus tradition and its application as an authoritative rule within the community. The teachers are the agents of this process of collection and textualization into the body of tradition which we now know as the Sayings Gospel Q and its further incorporation into Matthew and Luke's gospels.⁸⁴ The local patrons or officials, that is, the bishops and deacons, are the beneficiaries of the process in that they are able to become preservers and interpreters of the textual tradition. In this way they ultimately "turn the tables" on the prophets and teachers, who in their turn come to be eclipsed by the emerging ecumenical church.

These historical suggestions are, of course, sketchy and speculative, but are rooted in our analysis of the text of the *Didache*. They would need to be tested against the evidence of Matthew and Luke. This would, however, clearly be beyond the work of a single paper. Perhaps there is also a merit in sketching on a broad canvas in the hope that the strengths and weaknesses of the outline can be tested by others.

⁸⁴ Cf. Henderson (1992), p. 287: "It remains possible that the prophet-teacher relationship was one historic motive for the document's composition and/or final redaction." A significant point of disagreement between my analysis and that of Henderson is his assertion of an "eirenic" character to the text. It is interesting that a key factor in his oral analysis is also ambiguity or "an oral attitude toward harmonizing apparently divergent normative voices" (p. 305). The formulae it uses utilizes symbols of verbal, spoken authority to "provide an interpretive framework within which to harmonize conflicting norms" (p. 302).

DIDACHE 11–13:
THE LEGACY OF RADICAL ITINERANCY IN EARLY
CHRISTIANITY

STEPHEN J. PATTERSON

Eden Theological Seminary, Saint Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.

I. *Itinerancy in Earliest Christianity*

In 1973 Gerd Theissen published what is now his classic essay “Wanderradikalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum,” and launched what has become one of the liveliest discussions in the field of Christian origins.¹ Theissen argued that early Christianity emerged as a movement which was dominated by itinerant radicals who moved from place to place, homeless vagabonds who turned away from village and family ties to spread what they had learned from Jesus, offering preaching and healing in exchange for hospitality from local sympathizers who supported them. Theissen’s thesis has generated an extensive discussion and debate about the role of radical itinerants in earliest Christianity.² What was their role? How did they relate to the local communities which supported them? And finally, what happened to them as the church emerged into a stable institution within Greco-Roman society?

¹ G. Theissen, “Wanderradikalismus. Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum,” *ZThK* 70 (1973), pp. 245–71; later reprinted in G. Theissen, *Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums* (Tübingen, 1983), pp. 79–105. An English translation by A. Wire appeared as “Itinerant Radicalism: The Tradition of Jesus’ Sayings from the Perspective of the Sociology of Literature,” *RadRel* 2 (1976), pp. 84–93. (Subsequent references in my essay are to the text as it appeared in *Studien*.) Theissen popularized this thesis in his brief monograph, *Soziologie der Jesusbewegung* (München, 1977). An English translation by J. Bowden appeared as *The Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1978). (My subsequent references are to the English translation.)

² Aspects of Theissen’s thesis have been embraced in contexts which are too numerous to list. Note, however, the critical discussions by W. Stegemann, “Wanderradikalismus im Urchristentum? Historische und theologische Auseinandersetzung mit einer interessanten These,” in W. Stegemann and W. Schottroff, *Der Gott der kleinen Leute*, vol. 2 (München, 1979), pp. 94–120; English translation, “Vagabond Radicalism in Early Christianity? A Historical and Theological Discussion of

As he sketches his thesis in general terms, Theissen gestures toward various early Christian texts which serve to illustrate this phenomenon. Among these texts we find *Didache* 11–13.³ In this essay I want to revisit these chapters of the *Didache* with a view toward a more detailed exploration of the various aspects of that early Christian itinerant radicalism which is illustrated by this text and its complex history. These chapters not only reveal something of the way in which itinerant radicals related to local communities, they illustrate the way in which radical itinerant leaders were gradually replaced by a more stable, local leadership. I believe that a careful analysis of these chapters reveals a developing conflict between local leaders and the itinerants who frequently visited the community which made use of the *Didache* and, further, that this conflict was resolved through the regulation of the authority and behavior of the itinerants. Eventually the authority of the itinerants was all but supplanted by local leaders, namely, bishops and deacons, as the itinerants became venerable, but impotent, symbols of a time which now had passed. As I pursue this hypothesis I will draw upon a variety of methods, including Theissen's own description of social roles, redaction criticism, and long overdue attention to the manuscript history of the *Didache*. This last procedure represents an acknowledgment of newer trends within historical analysis which place greater emphasis upon the significance of the particularity of historical events and their artifacts.

II. *Itinerant Radicals in Didache 11–13*

Since Adolf von Harnack's formidable study of the *Didache* at the end of the last century, many scholars have accepted his judgment that *Didache* 11–13 presupposes the presence of a type of early Christian itinerant, a person who wandered from one place to another and relied upon the support of local communities to survive.⁴ According to von Harnack, the writer of the *Didache* seems to know

a Thesis Proposed by Gerd Theissen," in *God of the Lowly* (Maryknoll, 1984), pp. 148–68; R.A. Horsley, *Sociology and the Jesus Movement* (New York, 1989), pp. 13–64; B.L. Mack, "The Kingdom that Didn't Come: A Social History of the Q Tradents," in D.J. Lull (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta, 1988), pp. 606–35 (especially pp. 620–23). My own analysis of Theissen's thesis and its critics may be found in *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma, 1993), pp. 158–70.

³ Theissen (1983), pp. 86–87.

⁴ A. von Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostle nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 93–137. More recently, see

three types of wandering radicals: apostles (*Did* 11.4–6); prophets (*Did* 11.7–12; 13.1, 3–7); and teachers (*Did* 11.1–2; 13.2).⁵ Even though von Harnack tended to associate the *Didache* more with the second century rather than with the earliest phases of Christianity,⁶ he nonetheless assumed that these roles had ancient antecedents which predated the *Didache* considerably.⁷ Today, however, scholars are less inclined to assume that similarities between the *Didache* and either *Barnabas* or *Hermas* indicate the dependence of the *Didache* upon these two texts.⁸ Thus, the way has been opened to see the *Didache* as a much older document which was written perhaps as early as C.E. 50–70, according to Jean-Paul Audet.⁹ This early date for the text suggests that these chapters of the *Didache* are all the more important as an avenue by which to understand the role of radical itinerancy within the emergence of Christianity.

Not everyone agrees that the roles which are designated in *Didache* 11–13 indeed include the radical lifestyle of itinerancy. Elsewhere in this volume, for example, Jonathan Draper calls into question von Harnack's analysis. Teachers, he argues, could not have taught much if they were restricted to a stay within the community of the *Didache* of not more than one or two nights (see *Did* 12.2).¹⁰ As for apostles, Draper argues that the restriction to only a single day's provisions on the road (11.6) precludes the idea that apostles could have moved from one place to another without a permanent locale. He suggests, instead, that these apostles were actually emissaries from Jerusalem.¹¹

In my own consideration of the materials I am not certain that

G. Schöllgen, "Die *Didache* als Kirchenordnung: Zur Frage des Abfassungszweckes und seinen Konsequenzen für die Interpretation," *JAC* 29 (1986), pp. 5–26; K. Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre)—Barnabasbrief—Zweiter Klemensbrief—Schrift an Diognet* (München, 1984), pp. 32–33.

⁵ See von Harnack (1884), pp. 98–110.

⁶ See von Harnack (1884), pp. 158–59.

⁷ See von Harnack (1884), pp. 98–103.

⁸ See, e.g., P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1975), p. 735.

⁹ J.-P. Audet, *La Didache* (Paris, 1958), pp. 105–108, 457–58. Others date it slightly later, but still in or near the end of the first century; so, e.g., W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didache)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 91–97 (esp. p. 96); H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 158; Vielhauer (1975), p. 737.

¹⁰ See the essay of Jonathan A. Draper ("Social Ambiguity and the Production of Text . . .") which appears in this volume.

¹¹ Again, see Draper's essay in this volume, pp. 294–95. See also J.A. Draper, "Torah and Troublesome Apostles in the *Didache* Community," *NovTest* 33 (1991), pp. 347–72 (see p. 364).

Did 12.2 was intended to include teachers, since they are not mentioned in this particular context. Still, if the activity of teachers had become problematic to the community (11.2a), what better way would there be to limit their influence than to limit their stay? At any rate, the language of 11.1–2—ὅς ἂν οὖν ἐλθῶν . . . δέξασθε (thus whoever comes . . . receive)—clearly indicates that teachers come and go from the community. The language which is used to describe the “coming and going” of apostles likewise suggests itinerancy. Apostles ἐρχόμενος πρὸς (come to) and ἐξερχόμενος (go forth) from the community. This does not sound like an ambassadorial visit. Rather, apostles stop over and are *sent forth* to a new destination after a few days. Finally, of the three groups in question, prophets are the least clearly itinerant. From 11.7–12 one cannot tell whether the prophets who are under discussion are itinerant or resident. Later in the text, some special provision will be made for those prophets who wish to settle within the community (13.1), which suggests that their usual *modus operandi* involved travel. If *Did* 12.1 originally served to summarize the discussion which appears in chapter 11 (as I will presently argue), then it would seem that the author of this text understood all three roles—teacher, apostle, prophet—to be itinerant ones.

Thus, it would appear that these chapters of the *Didache* can reveal much about early Christian itinerants, especially their relationships with local communities. Indeed, the instructions in *Didache* 11–13 are not directed to the itinerants themselves, but to those persons who would welcome the itinerants into a settled community. Here is one community’s attempt to confront the issue of itinerant teachers, apostles, and prophets in the face of certain problems which had arisen in the community’s relationship with them. As such, these chapters can tell us much about how itinerant radicals related to the communities which supported them. But there is more, for these chapters represent more than a single set of rules which were laid down at one particular moment in the history of this community. As we shall see presently, these chapters were not composed as a unity but, rather, represent at least two separate attempts to engage the problem of itinerants over an extended period of time. Thus, these materials may also provide information about the changing role of itinerant radicals as early Christianity unfolded, as well as about their eventual fate. Before these issues may be explored further, however, it is necessary first to look more closely at the redactional history of the text.

III. *The Redaction of Didache 11–13*¹²

It has long been noted that *Didache* 11–13 does not form a unity. The problems with this section of the text are aptly summarized by Kurt Niederwimmer in his article “Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus im Traditionsbereich der *Didache*.”¹³ Chief among these problems is a series of *aporia* which render the chapters most confusing. For example, a new section seems to begin with 11.3 (note the use of περὶ δέ, which is used in *Did* 7.1 and 9.1 to introduce a new subject). But this section does not continue into chapter 12, where another type of itinerant is introduced (i.e., ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the traveler) without any attendant claims to the authority that is implied for the titles which appear in chapter 11. Then, after the brief interruption of chapter 12, the text returns again to a discussion of prophets, even though this topic presumably was exhausted in chapter 11. In view of such evidence one might suppose then that chapter 12 represents a later intrusion into the text, which interrupts the original unity of 11.7–12 and 13.1–7. But this is unlikely, since 13.1 is connected to 12.3–5 through the catchphrase θέλειν καθῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς (wanting to settle among you). These words presuppose the new subject matter which is introduced in chapter 12. Finally, chapter 13 discusses the roles of prophet and teacher, but omits the role of apostle altogether. What has become of the *three* roles which are presupposed in chapter 11?

To Niederwimmer's observations a further detail may be added—there is a discrepancy between chapters 11 and 13 with respect to the treatment of prophets. In chapter 11 anyone who asks for money or anything other than daily bread (11.5, 6, 9) is declared to be a ψευδοπροφήτης (false prophet). But in chapter 13 a prophet is permitted, even entitled, to receive free wine, meat, clothing, and cash gifts (13.3, 6, 7).

To account for these *aporia*, Niederwimmer suggests that the author of the *Didache* has incorporated traditional material into chapters 11–13, namely, a set of rules about prophets and apostles which

¹² What follows draws heavily upon the argument which was made in S.J. Patterson and C.N. Jefford, “A Note on *Didache* 12.2a (Coptic),” *SecCent* 7 (1989–90), pp. 65–75.

¹³ K. Niederwimmer, “Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus im Traditionsbereich der *Didache*,” *WSt NF* 11 (1977), pp. 145–67 (see pp. 148–51); see also, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 210, 212ff.

comprise 11.4–12. The Didachist's hand may be seen at several places: 11.1–2, which is a redactional transition from the previous section; 11.3, which is an introduction to the traditional material; and 12.1–5; 13.1–3, 5–7 (13.4 is a later gloss), which regulates alternatively non-charismatic and charismatic travelers who wish to settle in the community.¹⁴ Thus, the discrepancies in chapters 11–13 derive from the fact that this material comes from two different sources: 1) a traditional *Vorlage* which was known to the Didachist (11.4–12); and 2) the editorial work of the Didachist him/herself (11.1–3; 12.1–5; 13.1–3, 5–7).

This solution is attractive. It explains, for example, why two different sets of rules are presupposed in chapters 11 and 13—the first derives from tradition, the second from redaction. But it leaves unresolved the other, equally serious problems. For example, there is the matter of different roles which are presupposed in these two chapters. If, as Niederwimmer maintains, 11.1–3 derives from the hand of the Didachist, then one must conclude that the Didachist was concerned to treat at least three roles—teacher, apostle, and prophet. But this triad of roles does not correlate well with what we find in chapter 13, which also is from the Didachist's hand. As Niederwimmer himself notes, only two roles are discussed here—teacher and prophet. What has become of the apostles? Somewhere between chapters 11 and 13 the apostles have dropped from the scene. This suggests another redactional seam in addition to those which are suggested by Niederwimmer. But where is this seam to be found?

As it attends to the history of a layered text such as the *Didache*, traditional NT criticism, especially form criticism and its literary cousin, redaction criticism, tends to fix its focus on psychological clues. We have, for example, already solved some aspects of the problem of *Didache* 11–13 through the question of whether the mind of a single author could have been responsible for two sets of contradictory rules. Our answer has been “no,” under the assumption that it is easier to imagine an author who overlooks discrepancies between his/her own rules and those of a source, rather than to imagine a single author who produces two contradictory sets of rules out of a whole cloth. But this procedure has taken us only so far, and problems still remain. We need to broaden our search for clues. As we focus upon the psychological dimensions of a text and its production we may

¹⁴ Niederwimmer (1977), pp. 150–52; Niederwimmer (1989), p. 211.

possibly overlook other aspects of the text. In this case we may have overlooked important clues within the text itself, that is, its manuscripts—the historical artifacts.

IV. *The Coptic Didache*¹⁵

There is only one complete text of the *Didache*, that manuscript which was discovered by Archbishop Philotheos Bryennios in 1875 in the Patriarchal Library in Constantinople (Hierosolymitanus 54). This eleventh-century manuscript is the standard text upon which most scholarship on the *Didache* is based. In their reliance upon a single manuscript, and such a late one at that, scholars understand themselves to tread upon very thin ice. But that risk must be taken if work is to proceed at all. There simply are no other options. Yet how certain can we be that the *Didache* manuscript of Bryennios represents the text as it was known in the first century? Is it possible that other versions of the *Didache* were current in antiquity? And if so, what would they tell us about the history of this text and those persons who used it? I wish to argue that the Coptic *Didache* provides evidence that there was in fact at least one other version of the *Didache*, one which ended at *Did* 12.2a.¹⁶ If this is so, then we may have the very clue which we need to resolve the remaining, vexing problems which are associated with *Didache* 11–13.

The Coptic *Didache* consists of a single papyrus sheet with two columns of Coptic script on the *recto* and a single column on the *verso*. It was discovered in Egypt by L.-Th. Lefort in 1923.¹⁷ It was purchased the following year by the British Museum and designated as PLond Or 9271. An *editio princeps* was prepared by G. Horner.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Plate 1 (British Library Oriental Manuscript 9271 *recto*) and Plate 2 (British Library Oriental Manuscript 9271 *verso*) in this volume.

¹⁶ It is certainly possible that there may have been two or more versions of an early Christian text such as the *Didache*. Other well-known examples of this phenomenon would include the *Gospel of Thomas*, whose Oxyrhynchus fragments bear witness to a version of the text which was quite different from that which survived in Coptic at Nag Hammadi, Egypt. Also, the Gospel of Mark, which may have existed in as many as five different versions by the end of the second century should be considered; see H. Koester, "History and Development of Mark's Gospel (From Mark to *Secret Mark* and 'Canonical' Mark)," in B. Corley (ed.), *Colloquy on New Testament Studies* (Macon, 1983), pp. 35–57.

¹⁷ L.-Th. Lefort, *Les Pères apostoliques en copte*, vol. 1 (Louvain, 1952), pp. ix–xv.

¹⁸ G. Horner, "A New Papyrus Fragment of the *Didaché* in Coptic," *JThS* 25 (1924), pp. 225–31.

This fragment does not contain the entire text which appears in the Bryennios manuscript, but only a brief section which comprises 10.3–12.2a. The uncial script suggests a date around C.E. 400.¹⁹ The dialect is generally Fayumic, though Bohairic and Sahidic influence are in evidence.²⁰ Lefort posits a Sahidic *Vorlage* for the present text, which would shift the date for a Greek original into the fourth century and perhaps as early as the third.²¹ This text therefore is arguably the earliest known version of the *Didache*.²²

At present our primary concern is with the physical aspects of the manuscript. The description which is offered by Carl Schmidt is worth note:

The text appears on a large fragment of a papyrus roll 44 cm in length by 24 1/2 cm in height. The obverse contains two columns: column 1 measures 28 1/2 cm by 17 cm, column 2 measures 23 cm by 12 cm. On the reverse follows column 3 measuring 12 1/2 cm by 11 cm.²³

What is evident immediately is the gross irregularity in the size of the three columns. The first column on the *recto* (horizontal fibers), which begins with *Did* 10.3 in mid-sentence, is very wide (17 cm.), while the second is almost a third again narrower (12 cm.). Oddly,

¹⁹ This is reported by Horner (1924) to be the consensus of the "Greek authorities at the British Museum" (p. 225). C. Schmidt, "Das koptische Didache-Fragment des British Museum," *ZNW* 24 (1925), pp. 81–89 (see p. 82), does not support such an early date, while Lefort (1952) prefers a fifth-century milieu (p. x). The lack of any systematic, chronological study of Coptic paleography even today underscores the very tentative nature of either of these dates.

²⁰ Schmidt (1925) notes a strong Bohairic influence at various points (pp. 82–83). Lefort (1952) notes a Sahidic influence, though elsewhere he indicates that Bohairic which was translated from Sahidic and not from a Greek *Vorlage* serves as the common literary dialect for early Egyptian, Christian, liturgical texts (p. xiv); see L.-Th. Lefort, "La littérature égyptienne aux derniers siècles avant l'invasion arabe," *Chr.d'Eg* 9 (1930), pp. 317–20; "Littérature bohairique," *Muséon* 44 (1931), pp. 115–35 (esp. p. 134).

²¹ Audet (1958), p. 32; Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 113.

²² Apart from the Coptic version, the earliest text which witnesses to that section of the *Didache* (see the discussion of 10.3–16.8 below) is the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which probably should be dated to the third quarter of the fourth century; cf. Audet (1958), p. 32. One can safely assume only that the text of the *Didache* which actually was used by the *Constitutions* was a generation older than the *Constitutions* itself. Therefore, one reasonably might date the source of the *Constitutions* no later than the middle of the fourth century.

²³ Schmidt (1925), p. 81; cf. Horner (1924), p. 225. For representative discussions of the text, see Horner (1924), pp. 225–31; Schmidt (1925), pp. 81–89; Lefort (1952), vol. 1, pp. ix–xv, 25–28, 32–34; Audet (1958), pp. 28–34; Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), pp. 112–14; J.W. Riggs, "From Gracious Table to Sacramental Elements: The Tradition-History of *Didache* 9 and 10," *SecCent* 4 (1984), pp. 83–102.

to the right of this column is 11 cm. of blank papyrus. On the *verso* (vertical fibers) the remaining text is located in the upper left-hand corner of the sheet in a column of roughly the same width as column 2 on the *recto*, but extending only about halfway down the length of the sheet. It ends with the construction of a complete sentence from what we know as *Did* 12.2a in the Bryennios manuscript.

Several questions arise. Why are the column widths so irregular? If the second column on the *recto* had been the same width as the first, it is likely that all of this text would have fit onto the *recto* rather than spill over onto the *verso*, which is an awkward arrangement for a scroll. And why does the text end at 12.2a? There is sufficient room on the *verso* to record more of the text. If the scribe saw fit to use some of this space, why was a little more of the text not used, at least to complete the thought which was begun in chapter 12?

This last point has commanded some attention. Schmidt offers the most common explanation, which he attributes to H. Bell of the British Museum. Schmidt argues that the fragment is only an excerpt from a larger text which was created by an inexperienced scribe as a *Schreiberübung* (training exercise).²⁴ He offers this theory on the basis of the seemingly careless translation and the generally poor quality of the work (in addition to the widths of the columns, he notes inconsistencies in the script, corrections, and dittography).²⁵

Though this is very possible and widely accepted, the theory is not without its problems. First, the translation is not necessarily careless. One must remember that the present Fayumic text is probably an adaptation of an earlier Sahidic version. One may very well describe it as a more idiomatic rendition of the text which was made for those persons who were not comfortable with the Sahidic dialect and the numerous "Grecisms" which tend to appear in Sahidic documents that are translations of Greek originals.²⁶ Furthermore, however poor the script may be, it is not likely that this text is someone's

²⁴ Schmidt (1925), pp. 81–82. This has been endorsed more recently by Niederwimmer (1989), p. 41 n. 9.

²⁵ Schmidt (1925), p. 82. This judgment about the poor quality of the scribal work is perhaps somewhat overstated.

²⁶ Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 112. As an alternative, Schmidt (1925) offers the possibility that the Fayumic text is not based upon a Sahidic *Vorlage*. He suggests, rather, that it was translated directly from a Greek original into the Fayumic dialect with the use of a later Greek manuscript which had an extended tradition history, though he offers no evidence in support of this claim (p. 93).

training exercise. The price of a sheet of papyrus in antiquity would have prohibited such an extravagance.²⁷

Another possible solution is that this leaf was created to replace a page in a damaged codex whose contents were precisely those of our excerpt. But this too has its difficulties. There is no evidence in any of the margins that binding has occurred. At the same time, the left margin (*recto*) by which the leaf would have been bound into a codex is too narrow to allow for any known binding technique. Also, with such an hypothesis one would need to assume that the text on this particular sheet represents that text which originally occupied the missing page, both *recto* and *verso*. But unless we are to imagine an original text with a very large script, there is scarcely enough material here to fill both sides of a leaf of comparable dimensions. Finally, a codex with pages which were large enough to accommodate this leaf would have been an extraordinarily large codex (the widest pages from the Nag Hammadi Library, which are among the largest known codices, are not so wide as this leaf).²⁸

But there is yet another alternative. As has been noted above, this sheet comes from the *end* of a papyrus roll. This is clear from the scribe's use of the *verso* of the sheet. It is only at the end of the roll that the scribe could turn to the back side of the sheet and read the text which was inscribed there. It is also clear that the scribe intended to end with 12.2a. At least the scribe was not dissuaded to continue by a lack of space. Thus, we might reasonably conclude that with this final *kollema* the scribe anticipated both the end of the roll *and* the end of the text. This might explain the narrowness of the second column and the large margin to its right, that is, as the scribe approached the end of the roll, s/he intended to leave ad-

²⁷ Wm.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 194–96. In the first century a single sheet of papyrus in Egypt would have cost about two obols, or roughly thirty-five dollars, a price which was within reach of most people yet which was hardly cheap enough for practice sessions. Wax tablets would have been the preferred medium for such an exercise.

²⁸ I have omitted from consideration the possibility that this sheet was to be folded in half and used within a quire in a codex. The arrangement of the text and the columns prohibit this possibility. For a contiguous text to be located on both the *recto* and *verso* sides of such a sheet, the sheet would need to come from the middle of a quire. But if this were the case, the right-hand portion of the *verso* would also need to bear text, viz., that portion of the *Didache* which appears immediately prior to 10.3. This part of the sheet is blank, however. It was this feature, together with the absence of any holes in the center of the sheet which would indicate that the text had been bound, which originally led Schmidt to the (in my view) correct judgment that the sheet comes from the end of a papyrus roll, not from a codex.

equate space for the reader to hold the papyrus without any obstruction of the text. It would not be surprising to find that, in anticipation of such a handhold and in calculation of the width of the final column, the scribe miscalculated the amount of space which was necessary to record all of the remaining text. In order to avoid both the trouble and expense that would occur should the scribe choose to add yet another *kollema* to the roll, the scribe simply turned to the *verso* and recorded the remaining text in a short column there.

This explains the peculiar configuration of the text on this lone papyrus leaf. But it also leaves us with another, surprising conclusion, that is, that the text of the *Didache* which is recorded here must have ended with 12.2a. Could there have been a version of the *Didache* which ended with 12.2a? Indeed, the resultant text makes sense as a well-structured document in its own right. After the διδασχί (teaching) is explicated in chapters 1–10, the text of 11.1–12.2a appropriately concludes the tractate with a discussion of the way in which the community should distinguish between true and false bearers of this teaching. This concluding section is itself carefully structured. The material in 11.1–12 provides guidelines by which to distinguish between true and false teachers (vv. 1–2), apostles (vv. 3–6), and prophets (vv. 7–12) in order. The material in 12.1–2a then provides an apt summary, reiterating and emphasizing once again the themes of testing (12.1b) and hospitality (12.1a, 2a) around which the section was constructed.²⁹

We began our digression into the Coptic version of the *Didache* in search of further clues to solve a vexing redaction-critical problem, that is, the inconsistencies in the way that itinerants are treated in chapters 11 and 13. If the above analysis of the Coptic *Didache* should prove to be sound, we may well have found a solution to this problem—a version of the *Didache* which ended with 12.2a. If this text is a version of the *Didache* which is earlier than that version which is represented by the eleventh-century Hierosolymitanus 54, then the

²⁹ Presumably, one still might argue, based upon the fact that the Coptic stops in mid-sentence (including 12.2a, but not 12.2b), that the Coptic text represents a shortened version of the Greek text. This thesis, however, is tested easily, since the two halves of the sentence are joined by a μέν . . . δέ construction in the Greek version. If the Coptic were the result of a “breaking off” of the text at 12.2a, one would expect to find a dangling μέν without its accompanying δέ. This in fact is not the case. Rather, 12.2a in the Coptic text is connected to what precedes it by a simple ΔΕ, which is typical of the literary style of the *Didache*, especially within this section; cf. 11.2ab, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11ab, 12ab; 12.1ab.

material about the treatment of itinerants would have a redactional history which may roughly approximate the following simple trajectory. Under the assumption that Niederwimmer is correct in his identification of a traditional source in 11.4–12, then it is probable that the Didachist originally used this source to craft a conclusion to the teaching, with the addition of 11.1–3 as a transition and 12.1–2a as a conclusion. A second redactional phase saw the addition of 12.2bff. which was demanded by new circumstances, namely, the advent of wandering folk who wished to settle in the community. Thus 1.1–12.2a and 12.2b–13.7 represent two distinct moments within the history of the Didachist's confrontation with itinerants. It now remains for us to explore these two distinct moments through the texts which we have at our disposal.

V. *Itinerant Radicals and Settled Communities: The Case of the Didache*³⁰

To begin with 11.1–12.2a, the fact that the Didachist believed that it was necessary to address the question of itinerancy at all indicates that the relationship between wanderers and the communities which supported them had become problematic. There are three points to be made about the resulting conflict and what it can tell us about the interplay between itinerant radicals and local communities during this period:

1) The fact that the Didachist has assumed the responsibility to legislate on behalf of the community with regard to the matter of itinerants shows that the focus of authority in this community lies with local leaders, not with the wandering radicals. I cannot agree with Theissen's assessment that the authority of the wanderers is still superior to that of the local authorities here.³¹ From the perspective of the *Didache*, the wanderers do not really belong to the community. The text always addresses their situation as that of a third party. In effect, the text discusses with other "insiders" just exactly what is to be done about these "outsiders." To be sure, these outsiders are to be accorded every honor (11.11c; 13.3), and they do have their privileges (11.4; 13.1, 3), but it is not to be overlooked that it is the community, through its own regulatory document, which grants these privileges and, at the same moment, which reserves the right to judge

³⁰ The comments which follow rely heavily upon arguments which appear in Patterson (1993), pp. 175–77.

³¹ Theissen (1978), p. 9.

these outsiders and to rescind their "accreditation" at any time (11.4–12). Whatever authority the wandering radicals may have had in the past has now become in the *Didache* largely *pro forma*.

2) The fact that the legislation consists of guidelines by which to ascertain the legitimacy of a wanderer's claim to be a teacher, apostle, or prophet shows that (from the community's perspective) it is the behavior of the wandering radicals which has been called into question and which has made the relationship that exists between the radicals and the community problematic. With respect to teachers, questions have arisen about the correctness of their teaching (11.2). With respect to apostles, the problem has been that some persons have exceeded their welcome (11.5), or have asked for money in addition to the day's rations to which they are entitled (11.6). As for prophets, the problem has apparently been the abuse of "speaking in a spirit" in order to acquire a τράπεζαν (meal, 11.9),³² or to ask for money. Such grievances might well have been justified. Elsewhere in the traditions of earliest Christianity there is ample evidence to suggest that these early itinerants were to be without a home (Mt 8:20; Lk 9:58; *Gosp Thom* 86), to live without money (Mk 10:17–31; *Gosp Thom* 95), and to take no food for the journey (Mk 6:8), but to eat whatever was offered at the end of the day (Q 10:4; *Gosp Thom* 14.4).

One suspects, however, that not everything which was considered by the Didachist here would be judged to be a legitimate grievance by *both* sides. It is interesting in this regard to review the rules which were imposed upon teachers in 11.1–2. From the view of the community, some teachers had overstepped their authority when they presented a certain ἄλλη διδασχὴ (contrary teaching) which was not acceptable to the community at large. It is easy to imagine how such a situation might have arisen. For example, it is unlikely that the various itinerant teachers who happened by the community would have been entirely consistent with respect to their teachings. The arrival of new teachers, each with a different (however slight or radical) vision of the Reign of God, eventually would have frustrated those who sought to establish a relatively stable community life around a generally acceptable set of principles. If early Christian radicalism was to be transformed into a more stable set of arrangements which were conducive to community life, local communities eventually would

³² The term has interesting implications. It can refer to a meal which is dedicated to a god, and thus a lavish spread of foods, including meats. Or it can carry the connotation of a fairly elaborate feast; see *LSJ*, s.v. "τράπεζα."

have had to regulate the steady flow of novel ideas which came from itinerant teachers who interacted with them.

The same problem would have arisen with respect to prophets as well. In their case, however, the Didachist seems to be less eager to restrict their speech. From the material in 11.7 one may conclude that there have already been attempts to restrict the speech of prophets, a measure which the Didachist opposes unless a prophet should be shown to be a fraud by some unacceptable behavior. Evidently the authority of the prophets, as compared to that of the teachers, is still somewhat strong in the view of the Didachist.

3) The need to invoke the code of hospitality with respect to the wandering radicals suggests that this community, or perhaps other communities which were known to the Didachist, had initially confronted these difficulties with a simple refusal to accept the itinerants altogether. The Didachist opposes this idea and introduces criteria by which a teacher, apostle, or prophet might be judged, and if found to be guilty, could be ignored (μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, do not listen to him, 11.2, 12). But the itinerant could not be refused the right of hospitality. Thus, even though much of the real authority which the itinerants once had is now gone, they still command enough traditional respect, at least among some within the community, to retain the basic right to receive hospitality.

To turn now to *Did* 12.2b–13.7, we find ourselves at an entirely different point in the history of this community's experience with the itinerants. A new problem has arisen, that is, the need to confront refugees. These are people who seek a permanent home, in distinction from the strictly itinerant. One perhaps envisions the stream of refugees from Palestine which would have been produced by the Jewish Wars, or later by the revolt of Simon bar Kochba. Both the settled communities and the itinerants who depended upon them would have been displaced by such events. It perhaps is not surprising, therefore, that one finds among the refugees who are addressed here both normal refugees who have no claim to any special status (12.3–5) and prophets and teachers who have lost their base of support (13.1–7).

This section of the text offers evidence for a changed situation in other ways as well. First, there are no longer any words which are directed to apostles. Presumably the apostles have disappeared from the scene. This, of course, may simply reflect the relative youth of this part of the text. If this section was added late in the first century or early in the second, for example, most of those who could have

laid claim to apostolicity would have long since passed from the scene. But things have changed with respect to prophets and teachers as well. The generosity of the community's attitude is striking in comparison to the air of suspicion which dominates chapter 11. The matter of a meal is no longer a sufficient cause by which to question a prophet's legitimacy (cf. 13.1-3!). And nothing is said with regard to correct teaching. Now all of these problems belong to the past.

One might conclude perhaps that this new period had seen a resurgence in the popularity and authority of the wandering radicals at the expense of the local leaders, so that no one would dare to raise the sort of questions which were raised earlier in chapter 11.³³ But if this were the case, one would be hard pressed to explain why chapter 11 was retained at all. Rather, it is more likely that during this later episode in the history of relations between itinerants and the Didachist's community the power and authority of the wanderers had declined even further. In fact, the wanderers seem to have been all but replaced or neutralized altogether. This much is clear from the material which is introduced in chapter 15, material which concerns a new set of local offices—bishops and deacons. Of the highest significance is the way in which these new offices are placed in direct competition with the old guard: "for they also minister to you the ministry of the *prophets and teachers*, . . . they are your honorable ones, together with the *prophets and teachers*" (15.1-2). By now the community has developed its own secure pattern of leadership, which it views as equally legitimate to the old guard. The prophets and teachers can now be allowed to inhabit the community without fear that the other members of the community will be misled or swindled. The presence of bishops and deacons assures that their influence will be relatively limited, which is all the more true in view of the fact that none of the limitations which were placed upon teachers and prophets in chapter 11 are really rescinded. The new material in chapter 13 honors them, but it thereby makes them to be objects of nostalgia, a reminder to the community of its past. It is clear, however, that real authority now lies with the new order.

³³ Cf. G. Schille, who takes this approach along the argument that over the course of time local leaders were losing ground, and eventually had their right to test the prophets rescinded; see G. Schille, "Das Recht der Propheten und Apostel—gemeinderechtliche Beobachtungen zu Didache Kapitel 11-13," in P. Wätzel and G. Schille (eds.), *Theologische Versuche* 1 (Berlin, 1966), pp. 99-103; cf. the critique in Niederwimmer (1977), pp. 148-49.

Thus, in *Didache* 11–13 we gain a glimpse of the way in which itinerant radicals and settled communities of Christians might have interacted over time. One cannot suppose that their relationships were always amicable. Issues of authority, of the right to be heard, of the distribution of privileges, of roles, titles, and functions—all of the things which one would expect to emerge in a young community that is feeling its way toward a certain normativeness—are in evidence in these chapters. In *Did* 11.1–12.2a we encounter conflict in its early stages. If one may presume that at one time itinerant preachers (i.e., apostles, teachers, prophets) commanded a certain authority among Christians who were scattered throughout the countryside and small villages, already that authority had begun to erode by this first phase in the life of the *Didache*. Here we see a local community which is wary, and perhaps weary of the visits of outsiders. Outsiders may still visit the community, but their wings are clipped while they are there. In *Did* 12.2b–13.7 we view this community some time later. By now the roles of the local leadership have been more firmly established. Deacons and bishops hold an honor that is equal to that of the earlier itinerants. As for the itinerants themselves, some of them have begun to become settled. With local leadership in place, the community can now afford to extend honor and support to the itinerants without any concern that their occasional visits will always keep the community slightly unbalanced. The itinerant radicals have been tamed.

VI. *Epilogue: The Fate of the Itinerants*

The chapters of the *Didache* which are examined above illustrate what probably must have happened upon numerous occasions among the communities of Christians which settled and grew around the Mediterranean basin. Even so powerful and persistent a personality as Paul of Tarsus struggled to maintain some influence in the communities which he established, as is most aptly illustrated in his letters to Galatia and Corinth. So what became of these early teachers, apostles, and prophets? Did they suffer the fate of Laius, and, overcome by their own progeny, were never to be heard from again? No, but almost.

In the West we hear little of such radical itinerants after the first century. But they did not disappear entirely. Papias, at any rate, still knows of such folk in the early second century, persons who wander

by, pausing to share stories of the elders. Papias, we learn, preferred this "living voice" to anything which he might find in a book.³⁴

In the East it is a different story. When Christianity first appears there through second- and third-century sources such as the Ps-Clementine letter *Ad virgines* or the later *Acts of Thomas*, it is dominated by wandering missionaries, homeless and poor, who preach, teach, and perform exorcisms. From such examples Georg Kretchmar argued some years ago that it was in the eastern reaches of Christian influence, in Palestine and eastern Syria, that this early Christian asceticism ultimately found a home.³⁵ The *Didache* was an important point of departure for Kretchmar, because it linked these later manifestations of radical itinerancy with an earlier phase in Palestinian Christianity, even with "the discipleship of Jesus in the post-Easter period."³⁶ Elsewhere I have argued that a clearer link between this earliest phase of the Jesus movement and Syrian Christianity may be found in the *Gospel of Thomas*, whose devotion to the itinerant ethos remains unmitigated.³⁷

So the tradition of radical itinerancy did not expire altogether. But in the mainstreams of early Christian life and practice it did wane in favor of those adaptations of the early Christian movement which were more congenial to settled communities. Sometimes these communities themselves assumed forms which were equally radical within the social environment of the hellenistic world. Sometimes, however, the "settling down" of the Jesus movement involved an accommodation to more conventional forms of community life. What was gained through such compromises? What was lost? Would Christianity have survived had it not undergone some form of domestication? And at what price was survival secured, if indeed it was? These questions may not be addressed solely by the historian. To explore them is to ask about the significance of Christian origins for our current understandings of Christian life and practice.

³⁴ Eusebius *HE* 3.39.4. See Theissen (1983), p. 88, for this understanding of Papias' words.

³⁵ G. Kretchmar, "Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem Ursprung frühchristlicher Askese," *ZThK* 61 (1964), pp. 33–35. It is Kretchmar who has called attention to Ps-Clement *AdVir* 1.12.1–2; 2.1.3, and to *ActsThom* 61, 107 (syr.), 136, 139, 145.

³⁶ Kretchmar (1964), p. 49: "in der Nachfolge Jesu in der nachosterliche Zeit." The rest of the article (pp. 49–67) develops this hypothesis.

³⁷ Patterson (1993), pp. 158–70.

DID IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH KNOW THE *DIDACHE*?

CLAYTON N. JEFFORD

Saint Meinrad School of Theology, Saint Meinrad, Indiana, U.S.A.

I. *Introduction*

Those readers who are broadly familiar with secondary literature on classical, biblical, or patristic subjects will already have identified the title of this essay as an indicator of some forthcoming comparison of texts and authors. As it is applied to the transmission of the *Didache*, similar approaches have been undertaken upon occasion. And a brief roster of such studies, even with comparable titles, may be quickly compiled from bibliographies of literature on the text.¹ In each of these studies the historian, after having identified some portion of the *Didache* within the writings of a later author, has sought to explain how the older text has come to reside within the more recent work.

Two elements typically have become standards of measurement in this process—chronology and geography. On the one hand, the element of chronology usually offers little concern for any particular historian, since each author has assumed from the outset that the *Didache* is the earlier text and hence is a potential source. Geography, on the other hand, often becomes a central issue (though not always identified as such), since the geographical locale of the *Didache* must be securely established with reference to that of the secondary text if any possible conclusions about the historical relationship between the two works are to receive general acceptance. Those conclusions which fail to explain the geographical proximity of the *Didache* as a source typically have been perceived by scholars to form little more than a working hypothesis which has been founded upon tenuous data.

¹ E.g., H. Koch, "Die Didache bei Cyprian?," *ZNW* 8 (1907), pp. 69–70; H. Böhmer, "Hat Benedikt von Nursia die Didache gekannt?," *ZNW* 12 (1911), p. 287; F.R.M. Hitchcock, "Did Clement of Alexandria Know the Didache?," *JThS* 24 (1923), pp. 397–401; M.A. Smith, "Did Justin Know the Didache?," *StPatr* 7 (1966), pp. 287–90. See further the bibliography which I have compiled for this volume together with Kenneth J. Harder.

The question of a possible relationship between the *Didache* and Ignatius must also focus upon the questions of chronology and geography, yet the matter is somewhat different in certain respects: 1) Those scholars who would argue upon a "chronological" basis that the materials of the *Didache* were conceived and composed only after the death of Ignatius (ca. 120 C.E.) naturally would not be concerned for any possible relationship. And while various scholars of note have championed such an argument in one form or another in past years,² the position has generally been rejected as unacceptable by modern exegetes of the *Didache*.³ 2) At the same time, those scholars who would argue upon a "geographical" basis that the materials of the *Didache* were not compiled in the region of Antioch, that is, in the location of the ministry of Ignatius as bishop, again would not be concerned for any possible relationship. This argument is the more important consideration, since the views among current scholars are more evenly divided, with strong arguments in favor of either of the general regions of Egypt, Palestine, or Syria as the point of origination for the text. The scholarly explanations which support any of these options are numerous and often complex in their perspective. Subsequently, it is not my intention, nor is it essential to the discussion below, to review these arguments here.⁴

The focus of the present essay is directed toward those among us who would argue that the materials of the *Didache* (if not the final form of the *Didache* itself) were composed or compiled (chronologically) prior to the letters of Ignatius and (geographically) within the region of Syria, specifically in or near to Antioch, which was the geographical region in which Ignatius lived and worked as a bishop. Curiously, while certain authors seem to support this view in one form or another, there appears to be no discussion within the sec-

² See, e.g., A. von Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 168-70; J.A. Robinson, *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* (London, 1920), pp. 69-83; F.E. Vokes, *The Riddle of the Didache* (London, 1938), pp. 129-76; W. Telfer, "The *Didache* and the Apostolic Synod of Antioch," *JThS* 40 (1939), pp. 133-46.

³ See my review in C.N. Jefford, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 3-17. So too, K. Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (Göttingen, 1989), pp. 78-80; G. Schöllgen, "Didache: Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre," in G. Schöllgen and W. Geerlings, *Didache. Zwölf-Apostel-Lehre / Traditio Apostolica. Apostolische Überlieferung* (Freiburg, 1991), pp. 82-85.

⁴ For a summary of scholarly suggestions on the issue of provenance for the *Didache*, consult again Jefford (1989), pp. 3-17.

ondary literature of the potential relationship between the *Didache* and Ignatius. And, indeed, it must be admitted that a quick perusal of the writings of Ignatius leads one to the general, if tacit, assumption that such a relationship never existed.

The tension which remains is unacceptable in certain respects, however. If we are to assume that the hypothesis of a pre-Ignatian, Antiochian form of the materials which eventually were preserved in the *Didache* deserves scholarly attention and acceptance, then some explanation about the relationship between the text of the *Didache* and that bishop who was roughly a contemporary of the text demands to be explored. Consequently, if no reasonable relationship can be offered, the premise of a pre-Ignatian, Antiochian form of the *Didache* perhaps should be abandoned, or at least seriously questioned. By the nature of the subject, our investigation must begin with and hinge upon the way in which the bishop Ignatius generally made use of his sources.

II. *Ignatius and His Sources*

The initial question which comes immediately to mind as one begins to make a comparison of the extant writings of Ignatius to the text of the *Didache* would naturally seem to be the following: "Does Ignatius employ materials which appear to derive from the text of the *Didache* itself?" A quick perusal of the literature leads to an apparent answer for this question, which in a word is "no." Thus we are led to the next logical consideration: "Does Ignatius use materials which may have served as sources for the author of the *Didache* as well?" To answer this question, we are led to ask yet again: "In what way does Ignatius make use of his sources?" A review of those texts which can be identified as sources which Ignatius used is in order. For the purpose of a quick and general discussion concerning the approach of Ignatius to his sources, I classify potential texts (both oral and written) into three basic divisions of materials—the Hebrew Scriptures (with the Apocrypha), the NT corpus (with a focus on the gospels and Paul), and various early Christian traditions.

Hebrew Scriptures (with the Apocrypha)

The letters of Ignatius seem to reflect three actual quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures at *Eph* 5.3 (= Pr 3:34), *Magn* 12 (= Pr 18:17 LXX), and *Trall* 8.2 (= Is 52:5). In the two instances in which Ignatius

makes use of the Proverbs, he begins his quotations with the common formula ὡς γέγραπται (it is written), and he appears to employ specific wording which has been drawn from the Septuagint at these points. The third reference, which is to Isaiah, makes no use of any similar introductory formula. The wording of Ignatius in this case is extremely loose when compared with any known text of Isaiah, thus to suggest that Ignatius perhaps offers us a vaguely remembered reference here which he probably has inserted from memory. In addition to these few quotations, Ignatius shows some additional dependence upon the Hebrew Scriptures through his scattered use of allusions, as one finds for example in the following passages: *Eph* 15.1 (cf. Ps 32:9 LXX; 148:5; Jud 16:14); *Magn* 10.3 (cf. Is 66:18); *Magn* 13.1 (cf. Ps 1:3); *Magn* 14.1 (cf. Dt 32:2; Pr 19:12); *Sm* 1.2 (cf. Is 5:26; 11:12; 49:22; 62:10); *Pol* 1.2 and 3.2 (cf. Is 53:4). It is readily apparent that, at least from our brief collection of writings which have been preserved from Ignatius (which includes several letters that have been written to various audiences and within scattered settings), the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Apocrypha receive only minor attention within the Ignatian correspondence.

After a review of these few references one is tempted to agree with the general conclusion of Helmut Koester on this issue: "The Old Testament does not play any role in [Ignatius'] thinking. . . ."⁵ Or perhaps with William Schoedel one should at least argue that the "evidence suggests that Ignatius derived such materials primarily from secondary sources."⁶ After some consideration, however, I am not so completely convinced by either of these conclusions.

To agree with the statement of Koester is, in essence, to assume that Ignatius stood in an almost unique position among the authors of early Christianity. The apostolic and post-apostolic faith was generally conceived and constructed upon the testimony of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the theologies and ethics which derived from that faith produced literature which was streaked with the influence of the texts of the Jewish heritage. Even those patristic authors who were opposed to Judaism and its influence upon early Christian thought often chose to utilize the Hebrew Scriptures in their polemical arguments.⁷ Subsequently, it certainly would be difficult to

⁵ H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 1982), p. 282.

⁶ W.R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch* (Philadelphia, 1985), p. 9.

⁷ Yet, despite the fact that the intolerance of Ignatius for "Judaizing" within early

support the contention that Ignatius does not fall within the broad band of Jewish influence—at least to some extent.⁸ Admittedly, while Ignatius makes only brief references to the Hebrew Scriptures in his writings, he *does* in fact use them. His choice of texts seems to reflect the common Christian stream of thought which employed the scriptural canon as a source of authority behind the transmission of Christian theological insights, that is, he approached the Hebrew Scriptures in accordance with the basic method by which early Christians utilized their scripture.

With respect to the observation of Schoedel, one must ask after the nature of the “secondary sources” which Ignatius may have used here. It should be observed that from the brief usages which Ignatius employs we can determine a focal (if limited) dependence upon three central texts, the writings of the Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah. In support of Schoedel, such a limited range of texts might suggest the presence of certain collections of scriptures, perhaps *Testimonia* for example, among the secondary sources to which Ignatius had access. Admittedly, similar documents may have served as the scriptural basis behind much early Christian literature.⁹ Yet while it is possible that Ignatius had access to *Testimonia* which featured one or more texts from scripture, it is curious that his employment of such collections should be so limited, especially given the characterization of the opponents whom he attacks throughout his letters, persons whose concern for the tenets of Judaism would have been dependent upon the Hebrew Scriptures as well. Such opponents would have been open to assaults upon their interpretation of these very texts, and the presence of *Testimonia* undoubtedly would have proven to serve as a useful tool in such polemics.¹⁰

Christianity is paralleled only by the writings of Paul, he makes no effort to utilize texts from scripture to further his goals.

⁸ The characterization of Ignatius as “a witness to Jewish Christianity” which is offered by Jean Daniélou is undoubtedly exaggerated, however; see J. Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, vol. 1 (London, 1964), pp. 39–45 (quotation, p. 40); Schoedel (1985), p. 16 (“Ignatius and Jewish Christianity”). The position of Daniélou is developed from the work of Heinrich Schlier, who argued (perhaps correctly) that Ignatius was greatly dependent upon the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Odes of Solomon* in his construction of *Ephesians* 19; cf. H. Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefe* (Giessen, 1929), pp. 175–86.

⁹ See, e.g., L.W. Barnard, “The Use of Testimonies in the Early Church and in the Epistle of Barnabas,” in *Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and their Background* (New York, 1966), pp. 109–35.

¹⁰ On the situation of Ignatius and his opponents, see E. Molland, “The Heretics Combated by Ignatius of Antioch,” *JEH* 5 (1952), pp. 1–6.

It is noteworthy that, while Ignatius makes some limited use of scripture, he does not employ it in any active or useful sense. This omission directs me to the belief that Ignatius (perhaps unconsciously) employs texts and phrases from the Hebrew Scriptures which he heard consistently and repetitiously upon those occasions of theological meditation and liturgical practice in which he had been involved, most likely while in Antioch. This is not a denial of the possibility that the source of scripture for these occasions was contained in some form of secondarily collected list of passages which were taken from the Hebrew Scriptures. Such collections, either for meditation or worship, may have been common enough. But a more telling impression arises, an impression which is derived from several elements: 1) the brief number of passages which Ignatius utilizes in his passionate arguments; 2) the even more restricted appeal to specific quotations under the authority of "scripture" (i.e., "it is written"); 3) the limited range of sources from which he draws; and 4) the specifically Christian and primarily apocalyptic context in which he couches his use of texts. These factors suggest that Ignatius applied the Hebrew Scriptures more from casual practice and memory than from any intensive study of the texts.

By the same token, it is unlikely that Ignatius ever had enough confidence in his knowledge of the scriptures to have marshaled his biblical texts as rhetorical tools. It is misleading to suppose that the Hebrew Scriptures "do not play any role" within the thought of Ignatius. On the contrary, his faith *does* have some root within the Jewish tradition. Yet the letters of Ignatius depict a definite sense in which the bishop does not appear to be entirely comfortable with the use of biblical texts, either in a polemical role against opponents or as a theological anvil upon which to forge the sharp edge of Christian doctrine. Instead, for Ignatius the Hebrew Scriptures were incorporated passively as a logical support—a support which was determined undoubtedly by his community's history of faith—for the transmission of correct Christian beliefs and creeds as Ignatius envisioned them.

The New Testament

The possible use of the NT corpus within the writings of Ignatius has engendered a long and intriguing discussion among patristic scholars. While the scope of my present study does not permit an extensive review of the discussion, the conclusions may be offered in a

brief manner here. Our initial focus of interest lies with the individual gospel texts, which perhaps are best reviewed as separate cases:

1) The Gospel of Mark. There is no evidence that Ignatius either knew or used Mark. This is not necessarily a surprise, of course, since Mark is perhaps the least favorite gospel text among patristic authors.¹¹

2) The Gospel of Luke. Here one may appeal to a single passage, that is, *Sm* 3.2–3 (par. Lk 24:39–43; cf. Acts 10:41). In this text Ignatius proclaims his faith in the physical resurrection of Jesus and recalls, in support of his conviction, an appearance to the disciples by the resurrected Jesus, who instructed them to see and handle his body and to believe that he was indeed in the flesh and not a *σαῖμόνιον ἄσώματος* (phantom without a body), and thereafter he ate and drank with them. The language of the episode is similar to that of Luke (and Acts), though it is in no way a quotation of the Lukan text specifically. Since Ignatius does not appeal to Lukan materials elsewhere, I am tempted to believe that he (like the author of John; cf. Jn 20:20) is familiar with the episode as a tradition, though not with the text of Luke itself. He shows a certain level of comfort in this tradition, however, a comfort which he has not demonstrated in his use of the Hebrew Scriptures. The episode which concerns the appearance of the resurrected Jesus is utilized as support for a basic tenet of his theological construct, and presumably is offered with the assurance that it must be (and should be) accepted on faith alone. Thus Ignatius demonstrates his confidence in the claims of the early Christian tradition, without the benefit of any particular literary gospel witness.¹²

3) The Gospel of John.¹³ The possible role of John within the Ignatian correspondence is somewhat more complicated than is that of Luke. Of primary concern in this respect are the various phrases and theological connections which Ignatius shares with John, for

¹¹ So too É. Massaux, *The Influence of the Gospel of Saint Matthew on Christian Literature before Saint Irenaeus*, vol. 1 (Leuven, 1990), p. 97, though he considers the possible association of Ign *Sm* 10.2 with Mk 8:38.

¹² Once again Massaux (1990) reviews a possible literary connection with Luke (vol. 1, pp. 98–100), though he too concludes that various words and passages more likely “testify to the fidelity of the bishop of Antioch to traditional themes and ideas” (p. 100).

¹³ There is much more extensive research here than my quick review of the situation suggests. See, e.g., P. Dietze, “Die Briefe des Ignatius und das Johannes-evangelium,” *ThStKr* 23 (1905), pp. 563–603; H.J. Bardsley, “The Testimony of

example: the need of the Christian for the ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ (bread of God, Ign *Eph* 5.2 and *Rom* 7.3; Jn 6:33); Jesus is ἐκ σπέρματος . . . Δαυεὶδ (from [the] seed of David, Ign *Eph* 18.3 and *Rom* 7.3; Jn 7:42); Jesus ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν (did nothing without the Father, Ign *Magn* 7.1; Jn 5:19, 30; 8:28); the spiritual need for ὕδωρ . . . ζῶν (living water, Ign *Rom* 7.2; Jn 4:10; 7:38); the spirit οἶδεν . . . πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει (knows from where it comes and to where it goes, Ign *Phld* 7.1; Jn 3:8); Jesus ὢν θύρα (is the door to the Father, Ign *Phld* 9.1; Jn 10:7, 9).

The scattered nature of these phrases throughout the Ignatian correspondence suggests that Ignatius had a broadly conscious awareness of certain themes which have been preserved for us in John. There does *not* necessarily seem to be any specific suggestion that Ignatius had access to the materials of the Johannine gospel itself. Instead, Ignatius tends to utilize motifs of a salvific nature which would have been applicable within either liturgical or catechetical settings and which most likely were a portion of the common terminology and theology of the Christian communities where he served as bishop.

It perhaps is curious that Ignatius tends to use his Johannine parallels in ways which are similar to their usage in John. Most often, those phrases which John employs (either redactionally or from the tradition) to establish the authority of Jesus, namely, through the unique relationship of Jesus to the Father, are likewise used by Ignatius as the basis for the authority of the local bishop, who is argued in a similar manner to share a special relationship with God on behalf of the congregation.¹⁴ Also, references to the "bread of God" and to the "living water" are offered in a soteriological sense. But, of course, the use of such phrases in John and by Ignatius would naturally have suggested some association with the activity of table-sharing among early Christians.

Ignatius and Polycarp to the Writings of St. John," *JThS* 14 (1913), pp. 207–20, 489–500; W. Burghardt, "Did Saint Ignatius of Antioch Know the Fourth Gospel?," *ThSt* 1 (1940), pp. 1–26, 130–56; C. Maurer, *Ignatius von Antiochien und das Johannesevangelium* (Zürich, 1949), and "Ein umstrittenes Zitat bei Ignatius von Antiochien (Smyrn. 3:2)," *JGPÖ* 67 (1951), pp. 165–70; R.M. Grant, "Scripture and Tradition in St. Ignatius of Antioch," *CBQ* 25 (1963), pp. 325–27; H. Koester, "History and Cult in the Gospel of John and in Ignatius of Antioch," *JThCh* 1 (1969), pp. 111–23; Massaux (1990), pp. 101–105.

¹⁴ As will be seen below, a similar argument about authority is drawn by the Didachist.

Ultimately, Ignatius reveals no true dependence upon the overall argument and structure of the Johannine gospel. Thus with respect to Johannine parallels, as with his use of the scant material which appears elsewhere in Luke, it perhaps is safest to argue that Ignatius once again reveals a demonstration of his confidence in the claims of the early Christian tradition, though not necessarily a knowledge of the gospel text of John itself.

4) The Gospel of Matthew. This is the NT gospel which has received the most focused attention with respect to Ignatius. Three scholars have produced what are undoubtedly the most influential studies with regard to research here—Helmut Koester,¹⁵ yet again; Édouard Massaux,¹⁶ and Wolf-Dietrich Köhler.¹⁷ Koester's general analysis of the Apostolic Fathers led him to the conclusion that Ignatius, as with the other Christian authors of the early second century, was dependent upon the common, oral Christian tradition of the period (as we have seen above with respect to Ignatius' use of materials which appeared later in Luke and John). Massaux, on the other hand, concludes that Ignatius "undoubtedly knew the Gospel [of Matthew]," as is evidenced by two specific references, seven instances of "literary contact," and five of probable contact.¹⁸ Köhler, who is more in agreement with Massaux than with Koester here, opts for two instances of probable dependence, nine of possible usage, and ten texts where dependence cannot be conclusively dismissed. The various references to which Massaux and Köhler refer (and which Koester reviews) occur in an evenly scattered pattern throughout the Ignatian letters and utilize diverse passages of Matthew.¹⁹ It is not

¹⁵ H. Koester (= Köster with respect to this publication), *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (Berlin, 1957), pp. 24–61.

¹⁶ Massaux (1990), vol. 1, pp. 85–120.

¹⁷ W.-D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus* (Tübingen, 1987), pp. 73–96; also, it may be useful here to consult the quick summary of Köhler's position which is offered by the editor of the English edition of Massaux (1990), vol. 1, pp. 121–22. In addition to those views which receive primary focus here, the reader may wish to consult J. Smit Sibinga, "Ignatius and Matthew," *NovTest* 8 (1966), pp. 262–83; C. Trevett, "Approaching Matthew from the Second Century: the Under-Used Ignatian Correspondence," *JST* 20 (1984), pp. 59–67.

¹⁸ Massaux (1990), p. 96.

¹⁹ The reader is directed to the following points of possible association between Ignatius and Matthew: Ign *Eph* 5.2 (Mt 18:19–20), 6.1 (Mt 10:40; 21:33–41), 10.3 (Mt 13:25), 11.1 (Mt 3:7), 14.2 (Mt 12:33), 15.1 (Mt 23:8), 16.2 (Mt 3:12), 17.1 (Mt 26:6–13), and 19 (Mt 2:2, 9); *Magn* 5.2 (Mt 22:19), 8.2 (Mt 5:11–12), 9.1 (Mt 27:52); *Trall* 9.1 (Mt 11:19), 11.1 (Mt 15:13); *Rom* 9.3 (Mt 10:41–42; 18:5); *Phld* 2.2 (Mt 7:15), 3.1 (Mt 15:13), 6.1 (Mt 23:27), 7.2 (Mt 16:17); *Sm* proem (Mt 12:18), 1.1 (Mt 3:15), 6.1 (Mt 19:12), 6.2 (Mt 6:28); *Pol* 1.2–3 (Mt 8:17), 2.2 (Mt 10:16).

possible to review all of these potential connections here. But in light of these more exhaustive analyses, I choose to follow what has become the dominant conclusion of current scholarship and to accept the view that Ignatius knew, and probably used, the text of Matthew in his role as bishop.²⁰ This is not to argue, however, that Ignatius was in total agreement either with the theology or the approach of Matthew. Indeed, there are numerous instances in which his perspective comes into conflict with the gospel text. Yet it appears that he has a sufficient amount of respect for Matthew, and presumably for the authority which the text of Matthew commands within his community, to utilize the gospel throughout his letters.

To argue that Ignatius knows and uses the Gospel of Matthew is not sufficient for our purposes, however. The more important consideration is with the *way* in which he uses the gospel. A review of the potential parallels between Ignatius and Matthew consistently reveals that Ignatius utilizes the gospel text as the basis for foundational principles, either theological or ethical, upon which to build his own argument as he writes to the communities of Asia Minor. The bishop once again does not tend to use quotations from his source text (thus the argument of Koester for an oral tradition as the source), but makes allusions to Matthean episodes and concepts which, presumably, Ignatius assumes that his readers will recognize and respect. In this practice Ignatius often will use words and phrases as his point of contact, as for example: the coming wrath (Ign *Eph* 11.1; Mt 3:7); the tree is known by its fruit (Ign *Eph* 14.2; Mt 12:33); dubious wolves (Ign *Phld* 2.2; Mt 7:15); to fulfil all righteousness (Ign *Sm* 1.1; Mt 3:15); etc. Admittedly, such words and phrases occur sporadically elsewhere throughout the early Christian literature, yet it is noteworthy that we are able to return to the text of Matthew as a consistent anchor for each of these parallels in every case.

In conclusion, we find that Ignatius, who though he is not sympathetic to the Matthean concern for Judaism and the value of the Torah in early Christian thought, consistently builds upon Matthean images and principles in the formulation of his own theological arguments. He consistently utilizes Matthean terminology throughout his letters, and draws from the breadth of the gospel as his source. It is

²⁰ Likewise, this is the conclusion of Schoedel (1985), p. 9; Grant (1963), pp. 325–27; and the assumption behind J.P. Meier, “Antioch,” in R.E. Brown and J.P. Meier, *Antioch and Rome* (New York, 1983), pp. 11–86.

clearly apparent that Ignatius respects the authority of the Matthean text, and recognizes its value as a formidable, polemical tool with respect to his audience.

5) The letters of Paul. Some comment must be added here with respect to the role of Paul's letters as a source for Ignatius. There is little question that Ignatius is in sympathy with the Pauline approach to Judaism, his theological constructs, ecclesiology, and the role of the cross and resurrection for salvation.²¹ Pauline ideas and terminology are scattered rather obviously and consistently throughout the Ignatian letters and often serve as the basis for specific argumentation. In the case of Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians, in fact, there is even some reason to believe that the bishop has constructed his work according to the framework of the (deutero-)Pauline letter to Ephesus.²² There is no question that Ignatius is markedly influenced by Paul and his mission. Here, Schoedel perhaps summarizes the situation most accurately:

Of all this material Paul seems to have exercised the profoundest formative influence on Ignatius, not least because Ignatius found in the apostle a model for understanding his own sense of rejection. But Ignatius' Paulinism has been shaped by two somewhat antithetical yet ultimately reconcilable developments: (1) the emergence of more "mystical" strains of Christianity (to which Ephesians and the Gospel of John are also indebted in different ways) and (2) the modification of Christian life and thought occasioned by a growing emphasis on discipline and ministerial authority (to which the Pastorals and the Gospel of Matthew also bear witness in different ways).²³

In many respects, it is with the theology and works of Paul that we find the key to Ignatius' own theological speculation and concern for the Christian life.

Various Early Christian Traditions

Any consideration of Ignatius' use of early Christian traditions is a

²¹ See, e.g., the work of R. Bultmann, "Ignatius and Paul," in S.M. Ogden (ed.), *Existence and Faith* (Cleveland, 1960), pp. 267-77; G.F. Snyder, "The Continuity of Early Christianity: A Study of Ignatius in Relation to Paul" (Princeton, 1961); H. Rathke, *Ignatius von Antiochien und die Paulusbriefe* (Berlin, 1967).

²² It is my personal conviction that a comparison of the epistolary construction of the two works reveals the careful attention which Ignatius has given to the structure and movement of Ephesians as a source; see Massaux (1990), vol. 1, pp. 105-107. In addition, Grant (1963) also is undoubtedly correct in his argument that *Ign Eph* 17.2-18.1 is patterned closely along the text of 1 Cor 1:18-20 (p. 323).

²³ Schoedel (1985), p. 10.

far more tentative proposition than is his use of scriptural sources, primarily because of the difficulty which arises in the attempt to identify and delimit the traditions themselves. The most useful category in this regard is that of the (semi-)credal formulas which Ignatius preserves in *Eph* 18.2, *Trall* 9.1–2, and *Sm* 1.1–2. Here we not only discover formulas from the early Christian tradition, but in each instance these most likely are attached to the individual interpretations of Ignatius himself. So in *Eph* 18.2 we read a christological confession which Ignatius undoubtedly had received, that Jesus was conceived by Mary through God's *οικονομία* (plan of salvation), the seed of David, of the Holy Spirit, born and baptized—to which Ignatius adds by explanation, *ἵνα τῷ πάθει ὕδωρ καθάρσῃ* (in order that through his passion he should cleanse/purify the water [i.e., of baptism]). This simple confession is offered within the general context of correct doctrines which the Ephesians are enjoined to confess as well. The addition by Ignatius serves as little more than a theological explanation for the act of Jesus' baptism.

In a much more complex confession we read in *Trall* 9.1–2 that Jesus was of the tribe of David, of Mary, truly born, ate and drank, persecuted under Pontius Pilate, truly crucified, died before witnesses, truly raised from death—to which Ignatius again adds by way of elaboration, *κατὰ τὸ ὁμοίωμα ὃς καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐγερεῖ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ* (and just as he was raised, his Father will raise in Christ Jesus those of us who believe in him). In this instance Ignatius recites a confession and then specifically attaches a polemical argument against those who would defend the argument of docetism. Undoubtedly, in this instance he has offered an early Christian creed as a tool by which to thrust his perceived opponents with the sword of his own individual faith.

In the final example, *Sm* 1.1–2, we read that Jesus is of the tribe of David by flesh, God's son by will and power, truly born of a virgin, baptized by John, truly nailed up by Pontius Pilate and Herod the Tetrarch—to which Ignatius once more adds, *ἵνα ἄρῃ σύσσημον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ* (in order that he might raise an eternal standard through his resurrection for his saints and believers). This confession is recorded as a portion of the thanksgiving which Ignatius offers at the beginning of his letter to the Smyrneans, and thus his addition with regard to the resurrection of Jesus no doubt should be considered to be a confirmation of that community's hope in the promises of Christian faith.

Numerous other, more minor instances occur throughout the Ignatian letters which indicate that the bishop incorporates various early Christian traditions, (semi-)credal patterns, and hymnic elements in his thought and works.²⁴ The three examples which have been cited above, however, give ample evidence that Ignatius commonly incorporated elements of the common Christian, confessional tradition, and then freely manipulated those materials as tools of faith in his writings. He does not seem to reveal the type of reluctance which we find in his use of the Hebrew Scriptures. Instead, and more in sympathy with his use of the Matthean and Pauline traditions, he incorporates the traditions around him and applies them when necessary.

Summary

Ignatius seems to know and use materials from the Hebrew Scriptures, Gospel of Matthew, the letters of Paul, and other early Christian traditions. In this last instance, some of these materials are credal, confessional, and hymnic in nature, others are the essence of the early Christian faith about the historical Jesus and the risen Christ which ultimately were subsumed (in part) in the Gospels of Luke and John. Ignatius is primarily dependent upon the work of Paul and the common Christian tradition, sources which he uses and manipulates freely. He expounds freely upon Matthean texts and concepts, though in his assumption that his audience knows the text of Matthew as well, he typically does not cite the passages in question specifically. He relies upon Hebrew Scriptures only in part, and here with a tentative application.

III. *The Role of the Didache in the Situation of Ignatius*

As can be seen from the above review I am convinced that Ignatius, as bishop and theologian, was a person who chose to utilize whatever materials were available to him for his writing. This holds true even in those instances where he does not feel secure with the basic theological tenor of the materials in question as, for instance, in his

²⁴ See Grant (1963), pp. 328–33; Schoedel (1985), pp. 8–9, and *passim*; and in a related discussion of the way in which Ignatius used these and similar materials to draw boundaries within the church, see W.R. Schoedel, "Theological Norms and Social Perspectives in Ignatius of Antioch," in E.P. Sanders (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 30–56.

use of the Hebrew Scriptures—texts which undoubtedly held the potential to serve as a source of conflict with respect to his opposition against the “Judaizing” element within early Christianity. On the other hand, in the case of those sources in which he is in full agreement (i.e., the letters of Paul and early Christian traditions), he eagerly incorporates numerous texts and themes as he writes. With respect to Matthew, a text which (much like the Hebrew Scriptures) held some potential to conflict with his anti-Judaistic position, it is not surprising that he has extracted and built upon those theological elements within the gospel which he supported, though at the same time he has not chosen to focus upon the text itself, and thus has managed to avoid any potentially embarrassing contact with Matthew’s pro-Torah theology.

Now that the setting of Ignatius and his use of sources has been established (or at least suggested), we must ask where we might locate the bishop with respect to the *Didache*. Several texts present themselves for review here.

1) *Did* 1.1a: Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶ, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου (there are two ways, one of life and one of death; cf. Ign *Magn* 5.1). The text of *Didache* 1–5(6) offers an extended ethical discussion with respect to an appropriate lifestyle which is based upon the ancient theme of the dual pathways in life that are available to all people. The theme itself surfaces throughout much of late Jewish and early Christian literature, though that text which most often is cited as the possible source for, or at least the most likely parallel to, the *Didache* appears in Mt 7:13–14.²⁵ I have argued elsewhere that, in fact, the author of Matthew has probably drawn this image (which is unique in the NT) from the same source out of which the *Didache* has borrowed it, that is, from the common stock of early Christian traditions which circulated in Antioch.²⁶ It is all the more remarkable,

²⁵ See Jefford (1989), pp. 22–29, 146–59, 160; M.J. Suggs, “The Christian Two Ways Tradition: Its Antiquity, Form, and Function,” in D.E. Aune (ed.), *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden, 1972), pp. 60–74; J. Bergman, “Zum Zwei-Wege Motiv. Religionsgeschichte und exegetische Bemerkungen,” *SEA* 41–42 (1976–77), pp. 27–56; and see the essay of John Kloppenborg (“The Transformation of Moral Exhortation in *Didache* 1–5”) which appears in this volume. For an exhaustive analysis of the Matthean pericope, see A. Denaux, “Der Spruch von den zwei Wegen im Rahmen des Epilogs der Bergpredigt (Mt 7,13–14 par. Lk 13,23–24). Tradition und Redaktion,” in J. Delobel (ed.), *Logia* (Leuven, 1982), pp. 305–35.

²⁶ Jefford (1989), pp. 25–26. Though some scholars point toward Lk 13:23–24 as

therefore, that Ignatius has utilized the Two Ways motif in *Magn* 5.1 together with one of his adaptations of Matthew (*Magn* 5.2—the pericope of the image on the coin, Mt 22:19)! While it is possible that Ignatius in his own unique fashion has combined two sets of materials from Matthew here which appear as widely separated passages in the gospel itself (i.e., chapters 7 and 22), it is curious that the bishop states the reality of the Two Ways in much the same manner as does the *Didache*, and without the expansion of the “two gates” image which so dominates the current form of the saying which appears in Matthew.²⁷

2) *Did* 4.1: τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς κύριον (and you shall honor him as the Lord; cf. Ign *Eph* 6.1). This command to honor or, as in *Did* 11.2 and 4, to receive a person “as the Lord” appears commonly throughout early Christian literature, and thus it is not surprising that we find that it is used by Ignatius as well. At the same time, however, the charge by Ignatius to the Ephesians that they should receive a person as one ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν (whom the master of the house sends to do his affairs), is applied in a most intriguing context, that is, as a command to the members of the congregation that they must respect their own bishop as an agent of God (a constant theme for Ignatius). In *Did* 11.2 and 4, the Didachist applies this command to the reception of outsiders into the community, whether those persons should be teachers or apostles. But in *Did* 4.1, the injunction clearly is given with respect to those within the community who speak τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (the word of God). It is also in this latter sense that Ignatius uses the phrase ὡς κύριον (as the Lord) and emphasizes that δεῖ προσβλέπειν (it is necessary to regard) the bishop in such a manner. Thus, both the Didachist and Ignatius share a common perspective with respect to the way in which leaders within the local Christian community

a Two Ways saying, in reality the option in Luke's version is either to enter “the door” of salvation or to remain outside—it is not a choice between two ways (or two different paths). It is true that, while he does not use the Two Ways image as such, Paul employs the motif of dualism in his discussion of the flesh/spirit at Gal 5:16–24. Of course, Paul himself had firm ties with the community in Antioch, much like Ignatius and most likely Matthew and the *Didache*.

²⁷ Schoedel (1985) is correct here, of course, to observe that Ignatius does not concentrate upon the ethical injunctions of the Two Ways motif in the same manner as does the *Didache* (p. 110). It is quite likely, however, that the Didachist him/herself is responsible for the primary expansion of these injunctions, an expansion which Ignatius would not have felt necessary to observe in any case.

reflect the authority of the Lord and, therefore, deserve the respect of their followers.

3) *Did* 4.8: εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοὶ ἐστε . . . (for if you share in the immortal . . .; cf. Ign *Eph* 20.2). The use of the term ἀθανασία (immortality) is not as widely documented within early Christianity as one might expect,²⁸ which places Ignatius' description of table-sharing as the φάρμακον ἀθανασίας (medicine of immortality) into a curious position with respect to the use of the term in the *Didache*. For both the Didachist and Ignatius the term is applied to that meal of thanksgiving which is shared among the members of the community and with the Lord. Ignatius specifically refers to this as the act of ἔνα ἄρτον κλῶντες (breaking one bread), while the *Didache* insists here (in the form of a *kal ve chomer* saying) that since the believer chooses to partake in the sharing of the *imperishable* (food), how much more should s/he share the *perishable* (food) with those who are needy. The application of ἀθανασία in each instance is offered specifically and uniquely as a reference to the common table, which readily suggests that both of our authors agree upon a certain technical language by which to reflect an understanding of the thanksgiving meal which is theologically correct. This seems to be particularly poignant for our analysis in the absence of any similar usage of the term elsewhere in early Christian literature.

4) *Did* 4.11²⁹: ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ θεοῦ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ (And you slaves submit to your masters as to a representative of God, in reverence and fear; cf. Ign. *Trall* 3.1; *Magn* 6.1). The reference in Ignatius is not applied to the relationship of the slave to the master, but within that form of the three-tiered ecclesial hierarchy which has become widely associated with the theology of Ignatius: deacons = Jesus Christ; bishop = God the Father; presbyters = apostles (here, God's council).³⁰ The role or

²⁸ In the NT, Paul makes reference to the "immortality" which our mortal nature must assume at the general resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:53–54), and 1 Tim 6:16 refers to the Lord Jesus Christ who alone has "immortality." Outside the NT, 1 *Clement* praises the forthcoming ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ (life in immortality) for which the faithful strive in order to receive a portion from God (35.2). From the sixth century, POxy 1.130 records the ὕμνους ἀθανάτους (unceasing hymns) which are offered on behalf of one who is dying.

²⁹ Cf. *Barn* 19.7.

³⁰ This, of course, raises the question of whether the *Didache* knows only a two-tiered hierarchy or, as with Ignatius, a three-tiered structure. I have argued elsewhere for the latter, see Jefford (1989), pp. 118–29, and "Presbyters in the Community of the *Didache*," *StPatr* 21 (1989), pp. 122–28.

function of the bishop is to be viewed as a τύπος (type, symbol, representative) of the Father, an image which the congregation is expected to honor. Though bishops receive only a single reference in the *Didache* (cf. *Did* 15.1–2), they likewise are characterized by the Didachist as τετιμημένοι (honorable men). The call for respect or honor is not unusual in discussions of authority, though the characterization of the relationship between slave and master (as God) within the *Didache* and between Christian and bishop (as God) in the work of Ignatius is noteworthy. Both contexts place this relationship within the bounds of what the respective authors consider to be an appropriate Christian lifestyle (*Didache* = life through the teaching of the Two Ways; *Magnesians* = life through submission to the bishop), even though the audience differs in each case.

5) *Did* 11.2: ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ [ἐλθὼν] διδάσκων στραφεῖς διδάσκει ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε (and if the teacher [who comes], himself being in error, should teach another teaching for the purpose of corruption, do not listen to him; cf. Ign *Eph* 7.1). *Didache* 11–13 contains various materials which focus upon the need of the community to distinguish those persons within their midst who are true prophets and teachers, and specifically warns against those who should be considered to be false authorities. In a single warning to the Ephesians, Ignatius offers this same cry of warning, though no specific persons are named and the wording is not exact in any respect. On the one hand, we are left with the impression that the Didachist struggles with a current problem which continually confronts the community, and which must be addressed as the circumstances dictate.³¹ With Ignatius, however, we do not feel in this single warning to the Ephesians the anguish of a present, endangering struggle against doctrinal opponents, even though Ignatius often warns elsewhere against those persons with whom he personally holds some theological disagreement. I am led to think that in reality Ignatius has left the immediate threat of his “theological opponents” (if not his physical opponents—the Roman soldiers) behind him in Antioch, though the occasion of his letters provides an avenue by which he may send “preemptive” instructions to his addressees, both to warn

³¹ See the opinions of G. Theissen, “Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum,” *ZThK* 70 (1973), pp. 245–71; K. Niederwimmer, “Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wanderradikalismus in Traditionsbereich der *Didache*,” *WSt NF* 11 (1977), pp. 145–67; S.J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus* (Sonoma, 1993), pp. 172–78.

against those persons who proclaim what he considers to be certain theological fallacies and to support those local authorities whom he considers to be the mainstay of the Christian community.

6) *Did* 14.1: κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου (according to the Lord's day of the Lord; cf. *Ign Magn* 9.1). Ignatius writes that those who have a new hope in Jesus Christ no longer live for the sabbath but κατὰ κυριακὴν (for the Lord's day). He thus indicates that Christians properly should shift their focus away from the realm of Judaism and onto the day of faith in the resurrection, that is, presumably Sunday.³² The phrase "Lord's day" most likely was derived from the phrase κυριακὸν δέειπνον (Lord's supper), which is found at 1 Cor 11:20. It is logical to assume that the day on which the supper was observed itself became designated as the Lord's day, though other designations—"the first day of the week" (Mk 16:2 par.; Acts 20:7) and "the eighth day" (*Barn* 15.8; Justin *Dial* 41)—commonly were used as a reference to Sunday throughout early Christian literature. The word κυριακή appears only once in the NT itself (see Rev 1:10: "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day"), through it is found widely outside of the canon.³³ Yet of all those texts which contain the word, the *Didache* is the only other tractate which may potentially be dated as early as those of Revelation and Ignatius.³⁴ The Didachist advocates that it is on the Lord's day that the community should observe

³² I here follow the traditional association of the phrase "the Lord's day" with Sunday; see W. Rordorf, *Sunday* (London, 1968), pp. xiv–xx, and with A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 64–65; E.F. Ferguson, "Sunday," in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (New York, 1990), pp. 873–75. Various scholars have argued, instead, that the phrase properly indicates Easter alone; see A. Strobel, "Die Passah-Erwartung in Lk. 17.20f.," *ZNW* 49 (1958), pp. 157–96; C.W. Dugmore, "Lord's Day and Easter," in W.C. van Unnik (ed.), *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (Leiden, 1962), pp. 272–81.

³³ See, e.g., *GospPet* 9.35, ἐπέφωσεν ἡ κυριακή (the Lord's day dawned); 12.50, ὄρθρου δὲ τῆς κυριακῆς (and on the morning of the Lord's day); Clement *Str* 7.12.76, κυριακὴν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ (he makes that the Lord's day); *Const* 7.30.1, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ κυρίου ἡμέραν τὴν κυριακὴν (on the day of the Lord's resurrection); Eusebius *HE* 3.26.1, περὶ κυριακῆς λόγος (on the Lord's day; taken from the lost work of Melito of Sardis); 4.23.11, κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν (the Lord's holy day; taken from Dionysius of Corinth).

³⁴ This depends, of course, upon whether one supports the early date for the *Gospel of Peter* which has been proposed by J.D. Crossan, *The Cross that Spoke* (San Francisco, 1988), pp. 409–13. The expanded version of "the Lord's day of the Lord" which appears in the *Didache* is a *hapax* within the literary tradition. It is possible that the Greek manuscript of the *Didache* (= H), which is our only witness here, represents either a case of dittography or the omission of some key word or phrase (see *Const* 7.30.1 in n. 33 above). Dugmore (1962) suggests that the phrase might be

its special meal of thanksgiving. But of single importance here is the question of context. The general context of *Did* 14.1 is one in which the liturgy and community life of the Christian congregation are distinguished from those of Judaism. This is the very context in which Ignatius uses the word κυριακή, of course. Both Ignatius and the *Didache* are not simply concerned to underscore the significance of the Lord's day for Christian worship, but to distinguish it specifically from the sabbath of Israel and Jewish customs.³⁵ Willy Rordorf offers an interesting note here:

If we consider together the passages discussed here (Rev. 1.10; *Did.* 14.1; Ign. *Magn.* 9.1; Gospel of Peter 35; 50), we cannot fail to notice that they all come from the area of Syria and Asia Minor. There is, therefore, a certain probability that the origin of the title ἡ κυριακή ἡμέρα is to be located geographically in this area.³⁶

This observation suggests that the phrase in essence may have become a technical term which was used within a specific geographical region. This appears to be a logical conclusion. But perhaps we should look even further, since the polemical context in which both Ignatius and the *Didache* offer the phrase, a context which has no parallel either in Revelation or in the *Gospel of Peter*, perhaps suggests an even more specific link between these texts. At least one might posit the idea that the common tradition out of which these texts drew their understanding of the phrase bears the marks of a polemical, most likely "boundary-marking," context.

7) *Did* 15.1: Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ κυρίου (thus appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons who are worthy of the Lord; cf. Ign *Eph* 2.1; 4.1; 15.1; *Magn* 12; *Rom* 10.2). Ignatius uses the phrase "worthy of God [the Lord]" with reference to those who deserve respect and authority within the community. While the Didachist observes that this qualification is necessary for those persons who would be appointed as bishops and deacons, Ignatius applies the description to presbyters, martyrs, and himself

best translated simply as "on the Lord's own day" (p. 62). In any case, there seems to be no particular reason to think that the *Didache* has a special occasion in mind here.

³⁵ So Ign *Magn* 9.1. offers the Lord's day as a new development beyond οἱ παλαιοὶς πράγμασιν ἀναστραφέντες (those who live according to the old ways), while *Did* 8.1 insists to the community, αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν (do not hold fasts with the hypocrites)—each of which assumes as their opponents those persons who observe Jewish traditions.

³⁶ Rordorf (1968), pp. 212–13.

(presumably in his role as bishop) as well. Though the phrase is commonly found in early Christian materials, it is worth note that it is used exclusively both by Ignatius and the *Didache* for those persons who share power within the ecclesial structure and tradition of the community.

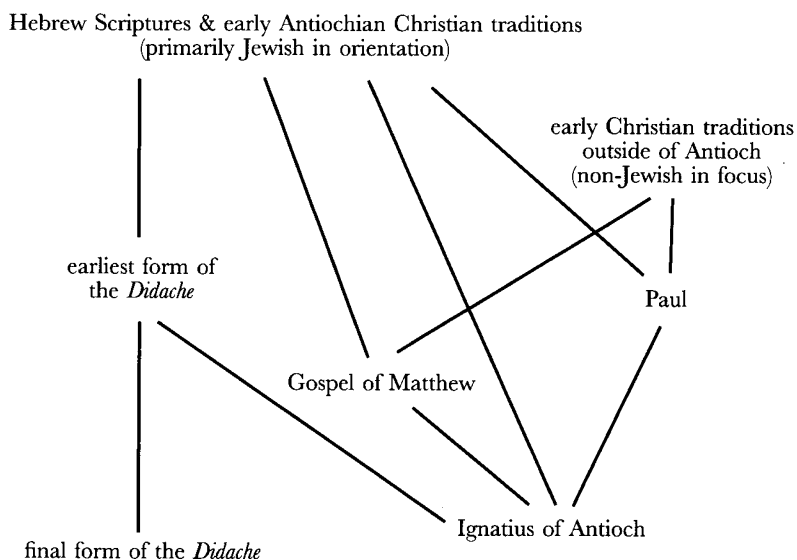
IV. *Conclusions*

I have argued, together with the current views of modern scholarship, that among the various sources which were available to Ignatius in his role as bishop of Antioch, there is specific evidence that he utilized the following materials: the Hebrew Scriptures; the Gospel of Matthew; the letters of Paul; other early Christian traditions, including credal formulations, christological confessions, and various themes and stories which ultimately have appeared (in part) in the Gospels of John and Luke. In addition to the general use of these materials by Ignatius, it seems that he chose as his favorite resources those materials which offered little or no trace of sympathy for the Jewish perspective within Christianity. At the same time, he made only restricted use of those resources which allowed for a positive evaluation of Judaism's role within Christian theology. For example, Ignatius is most comfortable with the letters of Paul and various early Christian traditions—materials which he utilizes freely and often; Ignatius is uncomfortable with the Hebrew Scriptures—materials which he does in fact use, but rarely and with no true application to his arguments. As for his use of Matthew, a text which seems to have served as a source of authority in Antioch yet which carried the risk of sympathy for a Torah-directed faith, Ignatius constructs his arguments upon his selection of Matthean teachings, but avoids any specific quotation of the gospel itself. Presumably, this permits Ignatius to make full use of the authority of Matthew without the need to encounter the risk of those elements within the gospel which he would have viewed as a threat to his view of true Christian praxis.

If Ignatius has made use of these sources, as seems likely and as I have argued above, then it is logical to assume that such sources were available to him in Antioch. Also from the above comparison of the letters of Ignatius with the *Didache*, it is entirely possible that there was some contact between Ignatius and certain, specific traditions which have been preserved in the text of the *Didache*. In the light of what we have seen with respect to the theological basis upon

which Ignatius chose and utilized his sources (i.e., much use of non-Judaic sources; sparse use of Judaic sources), we would not expect to see that Ignatius had made much (if any) use of the text of the *Didache* itself, even if it were available to him in Antioch (which is our underlying assumption for the sake of argument). And I do not wish to force the position that Ignatius made use of the *Didache*, that is, that the final form of the *Didache* (or even a reasonably developed version) was available to Ignatius in Antioch (ca. 100 C.E.). Instead, I wish to endorse the view that Ignatius was at least familiar with those early Christian materials within the Antiochian community which eventually were subsumed into the *Didache* and, perhaps, even with an early form of the text itself.

My speculations about the development and function of the *Didache* in early Christian Antioch have been stated briefly elsewhere.³⁷ With respect to the role of Ignatius within this equation, however, I would offer the following schematic representation:



Here I would like to suggest that Ignatius did in fact have full knowledge of the materials which were incorporated into the *Didache* from the collected Christian traditions of the community in Antioch. These materials, as with the Hebrew Scriptures, however, were not of his

³⁷ See my brief summary of conclusions in Jefford (*Sayings*, 1989), pp. 142–45.

theological taste and preference, with the result that he made only scattered use of them and no reference to the literary text of what later would become the *Didache* itself. This is not of particular surprise in the light of his limited use of the text of Matthew, which presented a similar (though perhaps less threatening) tension for Ignatius, that is, it supported a Jewish perspective within Christian theology which Ignatius detested, yet preserved early themes and materials which Ignatius endorsed. Consequently, he employed specific materials and certain selected themes from Matthew without any specific citation of the gospel text itself. In the even more dangerous case of the *Didache*, which is a text whose sympathies toward Judaism and Jewish practices are even more in harmony with the Hebrew Scriptures than are those of Matthew, he again avoided any citation of the text itself and made only minor allusions to materials which ultimately were preserved there. In this way Ignatius (together with Matthew) ultimately became the authority for the future of Antiochian Christianity, and perhaps assisted in that process by which the *Didache* (together with the concerns of early Jewish Christianity) eventually lost its influence and purpose within the community.

In response to our original question, it seems remotely possible to me that Ignatius knew the *Didache* in its present form. This might be suggested by the various textual parallels between Ignatius and the *Didache* which are available to us, and it would certainly be supported by the way in which Ignatius chose to use those sources whose authority he respected, but whose theology he resisted. Nevertheless, I believe that this connection is unlikely. At the same time, it appears much more plausible that Ignatius knew some early form of the *Didache* (a form which now is lost to us) and even more likely that he was familiar with materials and traditions which eventually were compiled by the Didachist. In any case, the argument against the association of the Didachist with the city of Antioch because of the supposed absence of the *Didache* within the thought and writings of Ignatius should no longer be considered as an automatic criterion upon which to evaluate the provenance of the text.

THE *DIDACHE* AND EARLY MONASTICISM IN THE EAST AND WEST

CYPRIAN DAVIS, O.S.B.

Saint Meinrad School of Theology, Saint Meinrad, Indiana, U.S.A.

As one of the earliest Christian documents, the *Didache* "has been analyzed down to its last detail," observed Jean-Paul Audet in his study of this intriguing early Christian text.¹ But a study of its overall influence is only just beginning. It is within this perspective that this essay is written. Did this early Christian text with its moral exhortations and liturgical observances come into contact with the early Christian movement of monasticism? Was there any influence of the *Didache* upon ancient Christian monasticism?

The earliest Christian monastic text is the *Life of Antony*, which was written by Athanasius (d. 373) in Egypt sometime in the second half of the fourth century. With this work the Christian world was alerted to the remarkable blossom of the ascetical life in Egypt during the fourth-fifth centuries. The connection of the *Didache* to Christian Egypt is discussed by Willy Rordorf in his introduction to the critical edition of the text that he published with André Tuilier in 1978.² Most scholars at the present time prefer Syria to Egypt as the home of the *Didache*. Nevertheless, Egypt was the home of two important papyrus fragments of this ancient work, namely, the Oxyrhynchus fragment in Greek and a second fragment in Coptic, specifically, in the Fayyumic dialect.³ Hence, it is not surprising that the question should be raised as to whether the *Didache* did not at some point influence Egyptian monastic literature. At least in one notable instance the answer is in the affirmative. This was a major interpolation of part of the *Didache* into a later monastic text. The passage is so striking that it deserves some notice. Other influences, on the other hand, are not as clear. But it seems evident that in one instance each the *Rule of Benedict* and the *Rule of the Master* cite a passage from the *Didache*. My purpose in this essay is to identify and contextualize these

¹ J.-P. Audet, *La Didachè* (Paris, 1958), p. 104.

² W. Rordorf and A. Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)* (Paris, 1978), pp. 97-99.

³ See Audet (1958), pp. 26-34; Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), pp. 111-14.

elements from the *Didache* within the monastic literature of the early church.

I. *The Abba Shenoute and the Didache*

One of the first scholars to call attention to the relationship of the *Didache* to the Egyptian monastic literature was L.E. Iselin, who in 1895 published an article on a hitherto unknown version of the Two Ways which appeared in the *Life* of the Abba Shenoute by Besa. Two years later another scholar, Humbert Benigni, analyzed this fragment of the *Didache* and showed how it had an origin which was seemingly independent of the presently known texts.⁴

Shenoute is probably one of the least known of the monastic leaders in fourth-fifth century Egypt. He was also perhaps one of the most bizarre. Born about 348, he reportedly died sometime around 466 about the age of 118. He became a monk at the monastery of Atripe, which generally is known as the White Monastery, near the modern town of Akhmîm in upper Egypt.⁵ Atripe, as far as it can be ascertained, belonged to that cenobitic, monastic tradition which was organized and inspired around 320 by the monk Pachomius (ca. 290–346) in the region of upper Egypt with Tabennisi as the first foundation. The Pachomian monastic formula of community life and mutual service envisaged the monastic community as an image of the church, with the superior of the community as a charismatic father who served his brethren and received their obedience. This concept was somewhat different from that of the eremitical tradition

⁴ L.E. Iselin, *Einer bisher unbekannte Version des ersten Teiles der "Apostellehre"* (Leipzig, 1895); H. Benigni, "Didachê Coptica. 'Duarum Viarum' Recensio Coptica Monastica, Shenudii Homiliis Attributa, per Arabicam versionem superstes," *Bess* 3 (1898), pp. 311–29.

⁵ For details on the *Life of Shenoute* from recent historical research, see the article by Tito Orlandi in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, s.v. "Shenoute d'Atripé." The most recent English translation of the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* by Besa is that by D. Bell, *Besa: The Life of Shenoute* (Kalamazoo, 1983). In his lengthy introduction, Bell gives an account of the life and influence of Shenoute. For the best edition of the *Life of Shenoute* by Besa, see J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Vita Bohairice* (Louvain, 1951). For the English translation, see H. Wiesmann, *Sinuthii Vita Bohairice* (Louvain, 1951). For other editions of the life and works of Shenoute, see J. Leipoldt and W.E. Crum, *Sinuthii Archimandritae. Vita et Opera Omnia*, vols. 3–4 (Louvain, 1954–60). For a Latin translation, see H. Wiesmann, *Sinuthii Archimandritae. Vita et Opera Omnia*, vols. 3–4 (Louvain, 1953–64). For a recent publication in English of the works of Shenoute which currently reside in Moscow, see A.I. Elanskaya, *The Literary Coptic Manuscripts in the A.S. Pushkin State Fine Arts Museum in Moscow* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 212–332.

of solitary commitment and individual direction by a spiritual father, such as that which was first exemplified by Antony of Egypt (ca. 251–356).⁶

Shenoute probably entered the monastery of Atripe about the year 371. Pjol, who was abbot of the monastery at the time, was his maternal uncle. Later about 385, Shenoute succeeded his uncle as abbot. The monks of Atripe followed their own adaptation of the Pachomian Rule. Under the charismatic authority of Shenoute the monastery began to increase its membership and its reputation for severity and sanctity. Although exact numbers in this period of history are difficult to ascertain, many historians accept the number of 2200 monks and 1800 nuns under the rule of Shenoute as probable, if not completely exact.⁷ From all indications Shenoute was a monastic father of enormous energy, determination, domination, and charismatic leadership.

The monastic life under Shenoute, nevertheless, was harsh and severe. It could also be violent. The monks and nuns engaged in manual labor, both agricultural work and crafts. All of them learned to read and write, and all were formed by the sermons and homilies of the Abba Shenoute. Shenoute also preached to the people from the local environs. They flocked to him for advice and protection. Oppressed by the local magistrates and the rich landowners, the peasants found an advocate in him. On the other hand, those who transgressed any of the many regulations of the monastery were beaten or expelled from the community. The blows were administered to the soles of the feet. On at least one occasion this beating resulted in the death of a monk.⁸ Shenoute must have had an extraordinary physical strength, because on more than one occasion he is described as physically attacking another individual and knocking him to the ground. In one famous episode Shenoute described in a letter how a magistrate with his servant had penetrated the precincts of the monastery. Shenoute seized him and threw him to the ground, placing his feet on his chest.⁹

⁶ For Pachomius, see A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* (Kalamazoo, 1980–82); P. Rousseau, *Pachomius* (Berkeley, 1985). For Anthony of Egypt, see R. Gregg, *Athanasius* (New York, 1980). For the spirituality of the Pachomian community, see A. Veilleux, *La liturgie dans le cénobitisme pachômien au quatrième siècle* (Roma, 1968).

⁷ Bell (1983), p. 5.

⁸ Bell (1983), pp. 1–23 (= “Introduction”); with regard to the death of a monk, see p. 10.

⁹ Wiesmann (1953), pp. 18–20. A version of this incident is given in the *Life* which is translated by Bell (1983), no. 73 (p. 63 and n. 58).

Shenoute demanded a written covenant from each of his monks, and presumably the same was demanded of the nuns. Each person signed a promise which indicated that the individual would not commit bodily impurity, lie, steal, or be deceitful, with the knowledge that any transgression would result in his or her damnation. This is perhaps one of the first examples of something similar to a profession document.¹⁰

Shenoute was a supporter of Cyril of Alexandria and accompanied him to the Council of Ephesus in 431. He joined wholeheartedly in the condemnation of Nestorius.¹¹ Shenoute wrote and preached in Sahidic Coptic. His life was written in the same language by his successor, the Abba Besa, and was later translated into the Bohairic dialect in the Middle Ages. Today only fragments of the Sahidic text remain. There are also two Syriac texts of the *Life of Shenoute*.¹² It is, however, the Arabic text of the *Life of Shenoute* by Besa which contains a remarkable excerpt of the *Didache*.

II. *The Two Ways: A Monastic Version*

The Arabic translation of the *Life of Shenoute* by Besa was first published by the French scholar Émile Amélineaux in 1888.¹³ This translation differs in several ways from the Bohairic text which was first published by Johannes Leipoldt in 1906. It is longer and more detailed than the Bohairic version. For example, names are supplied to individuals who had been left nameless previously. In addition, certain of the incidents in the Bohairic version have been expanded and elaborated in the Arabic version. There are likewise other additions which are not found in the Bohairic.

The most important addition, moreover, occurs at the very beginning of the Arabic version. This version begins with Besa (= "Visa" in the Arabic version), who addresses the inhabitants of three nearby villages who had come to Atripe to learn details of the life of Shenoute. Besa (Visa) proceeded to tell the villagers:

¹⁰ Bell (1983), pp. 9–10.

¹¹ Bell (1983), pp. 16–18; *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, s.v. "Shenoute d'Atripe" (esp. pp. 798–99).

¹² Bell (1983), pp. 3–7.

¹³ É.C. Amélineau (ed.), "Vie de Schnoudi (traduite de l'Arabe)," in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, 1885–1886*, tom. 4 (Paris, 1888), pp. 279–478.

... what I shall recount to you is only a little of what [Shenoute] has done. And certainly at every moment he has taught and spoken that the road is easy and the way twofold, one for life and the other for death; and between these two ways the difference is great. . . .¹⁴

With these words Besa begins the Two Ways, which comprises the first five chapters of the *Didache*.

The text of the Two Ways in the *Didache* and the text of the Two Ways in the Arabic *Life of Shenoute* are in many instances parallel but with marked differences. The Arabic text is shorter, but more florid. A comparison of the two texts will highlight some differences. I here use a rendition of the Arabic into English by means of the French translation which was made by Amélineau.

Life of Shenoute

... keep every one of these following things: do not kill, do not commit fornication, do not render yourself unclean in loving what is unclean, do not deliver yourself over to debauchery, do not steal, do not use magic, do not commit abortion on a pregnant woman by means of a potion, do not kill her child, do not covet the goods of your friend and of your neighbor, do not commit perjury, do not swear falsely, do not speak evil of anyone out of fear that the Lord would grow angry against you, keep yourself from having a deceitful heart in all of your actions, pronounce neither lies nor vain words, neither hold back anything from the salary of a laborer out of fear that he not cry towards the Lord and be heard; for the

Didache 2.1-7

A further commandment of the Teaching: Do not murder; do not commit adultery; do not practice pederasty; do not fornicate; do not steal; do not deal in magic; do not practice sorcery; do not kill a fetus by abortion, or commit infanticide. Do not covet your neighbor's goods. Do not perjure yourself; do not bear false witness; do not calumniate; do not bear malice. Do not be double-minded or double-tongued, for a double tongue is a deadly snare. Your speech must not be false or meaningless, but made good by action. Do not be covetous, or rapacious, or hypocritical, or malicious, or arrogant. Do not have designs upon your neighbor. Hate no man; but correct some, pray for others, for still others, sacrifice your life as a proof of your love.¹⁵

¹⁴ Amélineau (1888), p. 291.

¹⁵ J.A. Kleist, *The Didache or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (Westminster, 1948), p. 16.

Lord Jesus the Messiah is not far from us. O my son, be neither a thief, nor a pillager, nor a usurer nor a deceitful debtor; O my son, be not at all a proud person; for pride is detested by God; do not speak evil of your friend, of your relatives, of your adversary; for if you do so, God will love him more than you. O my son, hate no one, for [man] is the image and the resemblance of God; if someone slips, makes a misstep and falls into a sin, reprimand him between you and him, as some have done, love him like yourself; avoid every sin, do not frequent those who do evil out of fear that your life not be diminished and that you not die before the term of [your existence].¹⁶

Despite the fact that the Arabic version is shorter than the *Didache* itself, nevertheless, the version has the flavor of a homily or of a spoken text. The references to Christ are more frequent, as is also the use of the name of Jesus.

Life of Shenoute

O my son, recite in your heart the word of God, night and day; for the Lord is present where one pronounces his name, and he is eternally worthy of respect and praise. O my son, walk straight in the way of the pure fathers at each moment: you will become strong and powerful by virtue of the regularity, and you will rejoice with their gentle words and their

Didache 4.1–5

My child, day and night remember him who preaches God's word to you, and honor him as the Lord, for where His lordship is spoken of, there is the Lord. Seek daily contact with the saints to be refreshed by their discourses. Do not start a schism, but pacify contending parties. Be just in your judgment: and make no distinction between man and man when

¹⁶ Amélineau (1888), pp. 291–92.

delightful stories. O my son, do not seek to place discord among men; but seek very much to make peace between those who are in conflict; then judge with justice and be not ashamed to reprimand the culpable for their faults or the sinful for their sins. O my son, do not open your hand to receive nor close it to give: take care to act thus.¹⁷

Amélineau considered the Arabic version of the *Life of Shenoute* to be a translation which had been made in the Middle Ages between the tenth-thirteenth centuries of a more ancient Sahidic *Life of Shenoute*, which itself was composed at the end of the seventh century and now is lost. In his opinion, this Sahidic text was a prototype of which the present Bohairic *Life*, which was edited by Leipoldt, is a shortened version. This opinion is no longer accepted. Granted that this is so, we are still left with some unanswered questions with regard to the interpolation of the Two Ways in the Arabic version. Did this version of the Two Ways exist in the library of the monastery of Atripe? Did there exist a Sahidic text of the *Didache* in the library? Is there a possibility that the Two Ways was part of the liturgy of Alexandria at that period which prompted the use by Besa in this alternate *Life of Shenoute*? Given Shenoute's predilection for many rules and regulations, would the moral code in the *Didache* have served as a monastic moral code in the rules of the White Monastery? Whatever the significance of the Two Ways within the Arabic *Life of Shenoute*, it is certain that the monks of Shenoute knew a Coptic version of the text and that it was somehow of significance to them.

III. *The Didache and the Rule of the Master and the Rule of Benedict*

Monasticism in the West received its normative direction from the *Rule of Benedict*, a sixth-century document of some seventy-three chapters which was written by a certain Benedict, about whom there is little

¹⁷ Kleist (1948), p. 17.

¹⁸ Amélineau (1888), pp. 294–95.

solid, historical information other than that he is seen as the founder of the Abbey of Monte Cassino, in the center of Italy, in the third quarter of the sixth century.¹⁹ Details of his life, replete with numerous miracles, were publicized by Pope Gregory the Great in his *Dialogues*.²⁰ As a spiritual text the *Rule* which commonly is attributed to Benedict is one of the great documents of Western culture, notwithstanding the fact that most scholars today are of the opinion that the greater part of the first half of the *Rule of Benedict* (*RB*) was copied from a slightly earlier monastic document, which is known as the *Regula Magistri* or the *Rule of the Master* (*RM*). The *RM* is three times longer than the *RB*. It describes a more primitive liturgical observance and monastic structure than that which is found in the *RB*. It also reveals as its writer an unknown, monastic leader who was possessed of a much narrower spirit and a more rigid approach than that which is found with Benedict.²¹ Benedict, on the other hand, did not simply cut and paste whole sections of the *RM* into his own written text. Rather, he excised, rearranged, and augmented the *RM* passages which are placed in the *RB*. It was done in such a manner that the basic meaning of many *RM* texts were altered, thereby to provide a means for modern, monastic historians to contrast the personalities and the spiritual orientation of the two writers.

In the third chapter of the *RM* (= "What is the holy art which the abbot ought to teach his disciples?")²² a list of maxims and a list of prohibitions is offered. The *RB* lists its prohibitions and maxims in the fourth chapter (= "What are the Instruments of Good Works?").²³ Not a few have seen this list of precepts, which begins with sections of the decalogue, in *RB* chapter 4 as related in some way to the Two Ways. Abbot Fernand Cabrol, O.S.B., writing in 1910, connected *RB* chapter 4 to the *Didache* through a document known as the *Syntagma*, which was drawn up at the Synod of Alexandria in

¹⁹ All scholars admit that the date for the composition of the *Rule of Benedict* is the sixth century, but the exact years are highly controversial. In his edition of the *Rule of Benedict*, Adalbert de Vogüé dates the composition around 530–60. He also is of the opinion that the traditional date for Benedict's death (542) is probably too early, and would suggest that the date of Benedict's death is around 550–60; see A. de Vogüé and J. Neufville, *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1964), pp. 169–72.

²⁰ A. de Vogüé and P. Antin (eds.), *Grégoire le Grand. Dialogues* (Paris, 1978–80).

²¹ De Vogüé dates the composition of the *RM* to the first quarter of the sixth century; see de Vogüé and Neufville (1964), pp. 221–33.

²² See de Vogüé and Neufville (1964), pp. 364–75.

²³ See de Vogüé and Neufville (1964), pp. 456–65. For the English translation, see T. Fry, *The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English* (Collegeville, 1981), pp. 180–87.

362.²⁴ Abbot Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., disagreed forcefully in an article a little later.²⁵ Perhaps Butler was correct in his rejection of the notion. More recently, however, Adalbert de Vogüé has raised again the idea that a list of precepts which begins with the decalogue may have a relationship to the *Didache*:

... the instruments of good works pertain to the same genre as the commentary on the psalms, from which [the Master] composed his Prologue. Just as the latter presupposes, as we have seen, a rite of baptismal catechesis, so the catalogue of instruments corresponds to the moral instructions which christian pastors since the apostolic age had given their neophytes. The beginning of the list, with a series of biblical precepts which was already found in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* and the *Didache*, is particularly significant in this regard. No doubt the Master uses here, as in the *Thema*, some document originating in the secular churches. It corresponds to a doctrinal intention: to put monastic doctrine in relationship with ecclesiastical preaching, and to base monasticism upon the foundations of christian tradition and Scripture.²⁶

In other words, the Two Ways as a literary genre should have a special significance for monks. Asceticism begins with conversion, which in turn begins with a rejection of sin. The rejection of sin is part of the baptismal catechesis and the baptismal promises. Was the Two Ways ever part of the baptismal ceremony? Further research may suggest that it was.

Nevertheless, de Vogüé has identified one of the instruments in *RB* chapter 4 as a reference to the *Didache*. The passage is as follows:

*Praecepta Dei factis cotidie adimplere, castitatem amare, nullum odire, zelum non habere, invidiam non exercere, contentionem non amare, elationem fugere.*²⁷

The phrase *nullum odire* is indicated by de Vogüé to be the same as that which appears in *Did* 2.7:

Hate no man; but correct some, pray for others, for still others, sacrifice your life as a proof of your love.²⁸

²⁴ *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie*, s.v. "Alexandrie, Archéologie."

²⁵ E.C. Butler, "The Rule of St Benedict," *JThS* 11 (1910), pp. 279–88, and *JThS* 12 (1911), pp. 261–68.

²⁶ A. de Vogüé, *The Rule of St Benedict: A Doctrinal and Spiritual Commentary* (Kalamazoo, 1983), p. 84.

²⁷ See de Vogüé (1964), p. 462. The English text reads, "Live by God's commandments every day; treasure chastity, harbor neither hatred nor jealousy of anyone, and do nothing out of envy. Do not love quarreling; shun arrogance" (p. 185).

²⁸ Kleist (1948), p. 16.

De Vogüé observed in an article on this text that "to hate no one" is not simply a variation upon the second commandment of love which already is cited in the beginning of the second chapter of the Two Ways.²⁹ It is a text with its proper history, and de Vogüé begins that history with the *Didache*, indicating that the text in the *Didache*, like the text in the *RB*, comes at the end of the passage to create "an echo" of the commandment to love at the beginning of the chapter. De Vogüé argues that the writer of the *Didache* may very well have alluded to the text in Lev 19:17: "You shall not hate your brother in your heart, but you shall reason with your neighbor, lest you bear sin because of him." The text which is found in the *Didache* reappears in the *Didascalia* at *Dida* 7.5.³⁰ Another appearance in *Dida* 7.2 contains the same words with a different conclusion: "You shall not hate any man, neither an Egyptian, nor an Edomite; for all are the work of God,"³¹ with an additional appearance in *Dida* 2.53.³²

The conclusion of de Vogüé is that the list of maxims in *RM* chapter 3 and *RB* chapter 4 may have a common source with the Two Ways. "Let us say only that our research suggests the existence of an ancient catalogue of good works, related to the *Didache*, which would have served as a source for the Rule. . . ."³³

De Vogüé suggests that although Butler was quite correct to reject Cabrol's notion of an Alexandrian text as the textual bridge between the *RB* and the *Didache*, Butler too hastily rejected all connections between the "Instruments of Good Works" (in the *RB*) and the Two Ways.

IV. *The Rule of the Master and the Rule of Confession*

In his edition of the *RM* de Vogüé comments that chapter 80, which is entitled "If the brothers who have been polluted through sleep ought to receive communion or not," must be related to chapter 14

²⁹ A. de Vogüé, "'Ne haïr personne.' Jalons pour l'histoire d'une maxime," *RAM* 44 (1968), pp. 3-9.

³⁰ F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum*, vol. 1 (Paderborn, 1905), pp. 394-95.

³¹ Funk (1905), vol. 1, pp. 388-89.

³² Funk (1905), vol. 1, pp. 152-53.

³³ See de Vogüé (1968), p. 8. In his conclusion de Vogüé has suggested that the old Latin text of the Two Ways *Neminem hominum oderis, quosdam amabis super animam* is very close to the *nullum odire* of *RB* chapter 4 (pp. 8-9 n. 23). For the text of the Latin Two Ways, see Rordorf and Tuilier (1978), p. 208.

of the *Didache*, which is concerned with the Sunday celebration of the liturgy.³⁴ It is not so much a question of cause and effect as it is of liturgical precedents and the development of a penitential pattern which would have an influence until our own time, namely, the acknowledgement of sin as a preparation for the offering of Eucharist.

In early Christian monasticism the involuntary emission of semen during sleep was considered to be not completely without sin. Cassian confronted the question of nocturnal emission in the *Institutes* and in *Conferences* 12 and 22.³⁵ In chapter 6 of the *Institutes* he wrote:

It will be an evident sign and full proof of our purity if no lewd image comes to us when we are plunged in sleep. If there be any disturbance, it will still not excite movements of concupiscence. Although such a disturbance may not be thought to bring about the full harm of sin, nevertheless it is a sign of a mind that is not yet perfect and a manifestation of vice that is not yet purified, since illusion is produced by these deceptive images.

The quality of the thoughts, which are guarded negligently during the day because of distractions, is tested during the night rest. When such a fantasy occurs, it ought not to be thought a fault of sleep, but rather due to some negligence of the preceding time.³⁶

In the Middle Ages, the involuntary emission of semen during the night was seen not simply as possible negligence but also as ceremonial or legal impurity. This attitude was based upon OT notions of purity.³⁷ For this reason, under normal circumstances one did not receive communion on the morning after an emission.³⁸

The author of the *RM* resolves this question with an instruction that the monk who has had a nocturnal emission must admit this while kneeling before the abbot at the door of the oratory. The abbot

³⁴ *RM* chapter 80 (= *Polluti per somnum fratres si debeant communicare aut non*); see de Vogüé and Neufville (1964), vol. 2, pp. 328–31. In the note on the same page, de Vogüé gives the reference to the *Didache*.

³⁵ J.-C. Guy, *Jean Cassien. Institutions Cénobitiques* (Paris, 1965); Dom E. Pichery, *Jean Cassien. Conférences VIII–XVII* (Paris, 1958), pp. 120–46 (= “Conference XII. Conlatio Abbatis Chaeremonis Secunda. De Castitate”), and, *Jean Cassien. Conférences XVIII–XXIV* (Paris, 1959), pp. 114–35 (= “Conference XXII. Conlatio Abbatis Theonae Secunda. De nocturnis inlusionibus”). A recent English translation of these chapters (the first translation into English) may be found in T. Kardong, *Cassian on Chastity. Institute 6. Conference 12. Conference 22* (Richardton, 1993).

³⁶ Kardong (1993), pp. 25–26.

³⁷ Dt 23:10–11.

³⁸ For one of the best examples of the medieval attitude, see the text of Bede in B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 99–103 (= “Book 1. Chapter 27”).

in the *RM* was not a priest. The monks in the *RM* did not have Mass every day, but they received communion every day at the end of one of the Canonical Hours from the hands of their abbot, even though he was not a priest. Hence, this admission of an nocturnal emission was not a sacramental confession. It was, rather, the continuation of the custom which already existed in the Egyptian desert whereby monks were spiritual fathers whose intercession brought pardon for sin.

On the contrary, it is to be noted that the *RB* omits any chapter which is concerned with nocturnal emissions or even any mention of such an emission of semen as an impediment to the reception of communion. It would be interesting to speculate why Benedict deliberately omitted to discuss what both the author of the *RM* and Cassian himself chose to discuss.

De Vogüé, moreover, sees this passage of the *RM* in which there is a confession of faults prior to the Eucharist in its relation to the eucharistic celebration which is described in *Didache* 14. A comparison of the two texts is useful.

Rule of the Master, ch. 80

Whether Brothers who have suffered pollution during sleep should receive communion or not. The Lord has replied through the master:

Brothers who are aware that they have defiled themselves during sleep are to confess this secretly to the abbot at the door of the oratory, bowed down to the knees, before they enter for that Hour of the psalmody at which they customarily receive Communion. And then let the abbot ask them what impure thoughts they could have had the previous day that consent to lust should have occurred during the night.

Didache 14.1–3

On the Lord's own day, assemble in common to break bread and offer thanks; but first confess your sin, so that your sacrifice may be pure. However, no one quarreling with his brother may join your meeting until they are reconciled; your sacrifice must not be defiled. For here we have the saying of the Lord: In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice; for I am a mighty King, says the Lord; and my name spreads terror among the nations.³⁹

³⁹ Kleist (1948), pp. 23–24.

And if the brother is indeed spiritual he should not blush to confess this evil, as we have said in a previous chapter—and if he wishes to save his soul from death—so the abbot can provide the remedy for it by admonitions. Nevertheless let them abstain from receiving Communion for two days, and then communicate again, cleansed, on the third day.⁴⁰

It is obvious from the text that the public confession in the *Didache* is more concerned with sins in general than with those which are specifically against purity. Ultimately, *Didache* 14 has the merit of its witness to a pattern of liturgical practice which would be continued in subsequent centuries. Some type of confession of sin before communion is the practice in many of the eucharistic liturgies of the Eastern churches. In the Roman liturgy it occurs at the beginning of the Liturgy of the Word, the confession before communion having been suppressed at the reform of the Liturgy during the time of Pope Pius XII. The *RM* (see chapter 80) bears witness to the fact that this confession of sin before the rite of communion outside of Mass had special importance for those sixth-century monks who sought to live lives of celibate chastity and to acknowledge the constraints of human physiology. In fact, the *RM* (see chapter 15) devotes another whole chapter to the manifestation of evil thoughts to the abbot and the remedies which he imposes: "Subordinates revealing evil thoughts to the deans and to the abbot."⁴¹ The *RB* only has the brief mention that the monk should reveal his thoughts to the abbot in the fifth degree of the ladder of humility.

V. Conclusion

The question of the *Didache* and monasticism is not so much a question of direct influence nor even of organic development. In one

⁴⁰ L. Eberle, *The Rule of the Master* (Kalamazoo, 1977), p. 244. Only the first part of the chapter is cited.

⁴¹ Eberle (1977), pp. 159–61 (= "Chapter 15").

notable text, a large segment of the *Didache* appears in a monastic text. This appearance, however, raises the question of possible echoes of the *Didache* within other monastic texts. In the question of influence there seems to be little direct impact which can be verified. Nevertheless, the world of the *Didache* eventually created the world out of which monasticism developed, and the atmosphere of the *Didache* soon became the environment which gave rise to early Christian monasticism with its literature. One can conclude that, seemingly, there was no direct influence but, indirectly, it is part of the background.

VI. *Appendix—The Arabic Version of the Two Ways in the Life of Shenoute*
(from the rendition of the French translation by Émile C. Amélineau)

[p. 291] Besa [in this text spelled Visa] speaks:

... And what I shall recount to you is only a little of what he [Shenoute] has done. And certainly at every moment he has taught and spoken that the road is easy and the way twofold, one for life and the other for death; and between these two ways the difference is great. Here is the way of life: before everything love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul; with all your spirit; love your neighbor as yourself and with all your thoughts. That which you do not wish that one should do to yourself, do not do to another; keep every one of these following things: do not kill, do not commit fornication, do not render yourself unclean in loving what is unclean, do not deliver yourself over to debauchery, do not steal, do not use magic, do not commit abortion on a pregnant woman by means of a potion, do not kill her child, do not covet the goods of your friend and of your neighbor, do not commit perjury, do not swear falsely, do not speak evil of anyone out of fear that the Lord would grow angry against you, keep yourself from having a deceitful heart in all of your actions, pronounce neither lies nor vain words, neither hold back anything from the salary of a laborer out of fear that he not cry towards the Lord and be heard; for the Lord Jesus the Messiah is not far from us. O my son, be neither a thief, nor a pillager, nor a usurer nor a deceitful debtor; O my son, be not at all a proud person; for pride is detested by God; do not speak evil of your friend, of your relatives, of your adversary; for if you do so, God will love him more than you. O my son, hate no one, for [man] is the image and the resemblance of God; if someone slips, makes a

misstep and falls into a sin, reprimand him between you and him, as some have done, love him like yourself; avoid every sin, do not frequent those who do evil out of fear that your life not be diminished and that you not die before the term of [your existence].

O my son, be not at all envious or jealous, be not deceitful; for all these vices lead to murder. O my son, do not let these passions be your occupation; for they shall lead to adultery. O my son, do not speak obscene words, do not have hungry eyes because that makes false witnesses. O my son, do not ask: what is that? or: why is that? for [this curiosity] leads to the adoration of idols;⁴² do not be in the number of those who wait on the hours; for misfortune, sighs, anxiety and fear shall fall upon those who do thus.⁴³ O my son, do not frequent the enchanters and magicians, flee them, these people and their words; for the one who frequents them draws himself away from God. O my son, do not be a liar, for the lie leads to theft. O my son, do not love money, do not exalt yourself; for from cupidity and bragging come forth homicide. O my son, do not be small of heart, never think of evil, but be meek; for the meek shall receive the earth as an inheritance. O my son, be always magnanimous, merciful, simple of heart, faithful in all your actions (which ought to be) good, fearing at every moment, trembling before the words and the orders of God. Do not let your soul be filled with pride, but always be modest. Do not cling to the rich, do not draw near them, but keep company with humble and pious persons, for the prophet David owed his salvation several times to his humility. Each time that there comes to you either good or evil, receive it with thanksgiving, because you know that nothing comes to you without the will of God [who is] your God. O my son, recite in your heart the word of God, night and day; for the Lord is present where one pronounces his name, and he is eternally worthy of respect and praise. O my son, walk straight in the way of the pure fathers⁴⁴ at each moment: you will become strong and powerful by virtue of the regularity, and you will rejoice with their gentle words and their delightful stories. O my son, do not seek to place discord among men; but seek very

⁴² Amélineau (1988) remarks in a footnote that this is a profound observation on the part of Shenoute, viz., that a free examination in matters of faith will lead to scepticism (p. 293).

⁴³ Amélineau (1888) notes that this means impatience, looking impatiently at the clock for the hours to pass (p. 293).

⁴⁴ According to Amélineau (1888), "pure fathers" means the monks (p. 294).

much to make peace between those who are in conflict; then judge with justice and be not ashamed to reprimand the culpable for their faults or the sinful for their sins. O my son, do not open your hand to receive nor close it to give: take care to act thus. As often as you can, give to the poor in order to efface your numerous sins; but in your gifts do not be endowed with two hearts; what is more, if you give something, be not sad and do not regret if you show mercy: you know very well that the one who recompenses the honest and faithful one is Jesus the Messiah, who pardons sins. O my son, do not turn your countenance from the poor person, but give to him according to the degree of your fortune; share with all the needy; for if we share with those who have nothing in terms of perishable goods, we shall share with them in terms of long lasting and eternal goods. And if we follow these recommendations, we shall walk in the way of life, in the blessed way towards eternity which is toward the only king, the Lord Jesus the Messiah, who gives life to those who love him.

As to the way of death, whoever follows it and walks in its paths shall die like a man dead because of all the bad actions which are: cursing, murder, pillage, violence, hypocrisy, and every evil action of the one whom we have said from fear that he should have someone err and fall in the way of death, that he should have someone walk in his ways as a result of sin and that the fault not grow under the cooperation of the one who has caused the fault.⁴⁵

Here are the teachings that the holy father anba Schnoudi has always given to us and that we have just explained to you at this instant, O my sons; and we are going to recount to you some of his numerous acts, some of the marvels which God has accomplished by his hand. . . . (p. 296)

⁴⁵ Amélineau (1888) understands this difficult passage to mean that the one who falls into sin and continues therein because of evil counsel will continue to sin without the need for bad counseling (p. 296). It would seem that this is one of the passages which has been corrupted.

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KENNETH J. HARDER AND CLAYTON N. JEFFORD

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* The present bibliography is not exhaustive, especially for those works which were published prior to the year 1900. For additional, related materials, see the bibliographies which appear in Hitchcock and Brown (1885), pp. 65–77 ("Appendix—Digest of the Didache Literature," compiled by P. Schaff); Richardson (1887; repr. 1994), pp. 83–86; Ladd (1949), pp. 191–205; Quasten (1950), pp. 38–39; Audet (1958), pp. x–xvi; Kloppenborg (1976), pp. 278–307; Wengst (1984), pp. 3–4; Jefford (1989), pp. 162–70; Niederwimmer (1989; repr. 1993), pp. 273–94; Schöllgen (1991), pp. 329–38; Noll (1993), pp. 372–83. Full citations for these sources are given in the bibliography below.

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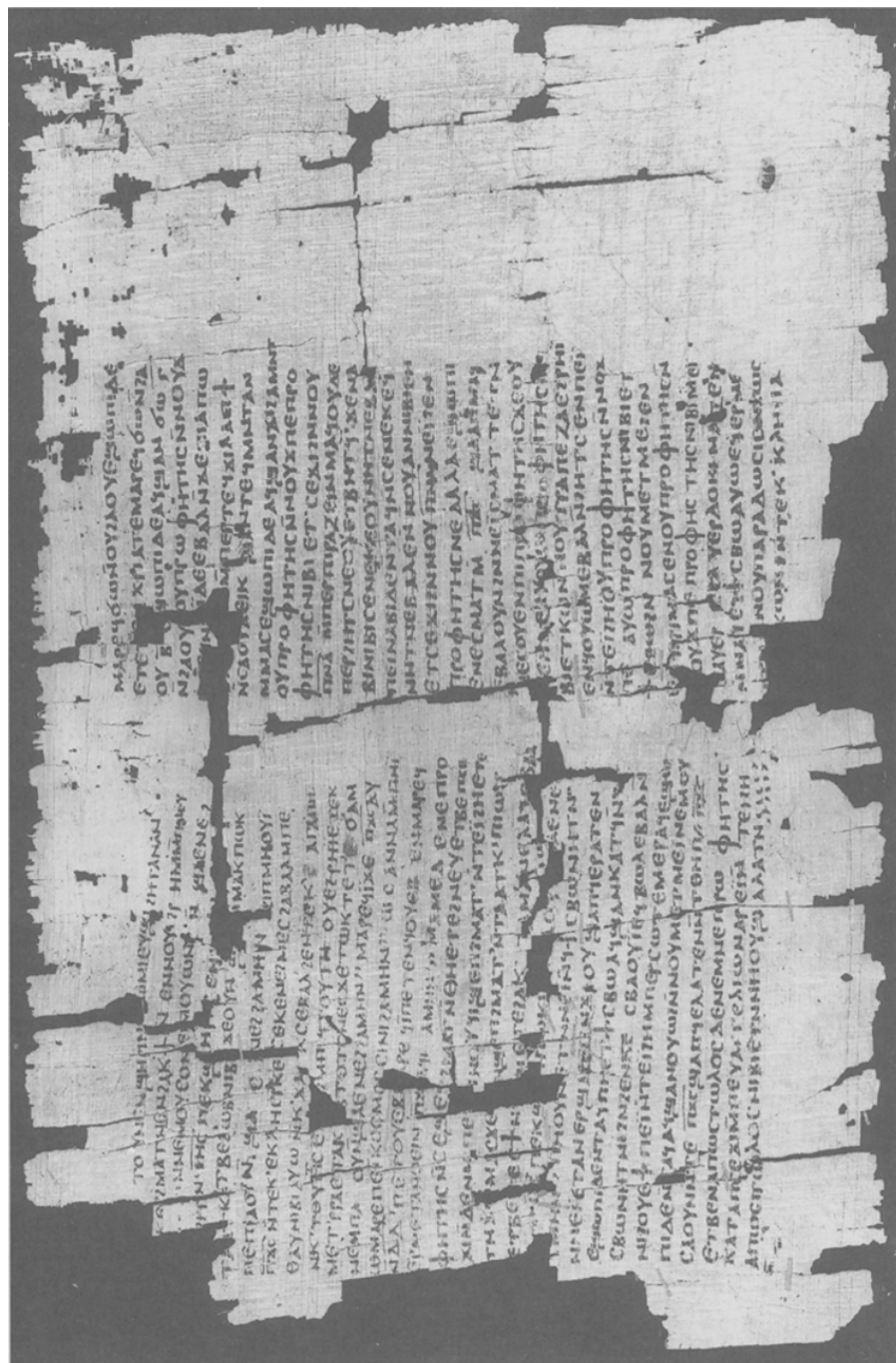


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